

PROTESTANT

SPRING

DIGEST

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PROTESTANT DIGEST

APRIL - MAY, 1941

NOTES ON PERSONS

PAUL TILlich joins us this month as Contributing Editor. He was one of the foremost of German thinkers, repudiating Nazism in its earliest stage. . . . PIERRE VAN PAASSEN's latest book *The Time Is Now* is reviewed in this issue. . . . WALTER M. HORTON is professor of the Philosophy of Christianity at Oberlin College. . . . S. R. HERBERT is a Baptist layman, author of *Schulkrieg*, in our latest issue. . . . MARY BLACKWELL HUNT is a teacher in the South. . . . LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH was formerly on the staff of the *London Times*. His new book, *Dictators and Democrats*, will appear shortly. . . . JOSEPH BRAININ was formerly editor of the Seven Arts Features Syndicate. . . . PHIL E. CORBIN is a New York newspaper man. . . . he is of the Roman Catholic faith. . . . CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN is professor at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. . . . DAVID LORD is director of the Spanish Institute of Florida. . . . H. N. WIEMAN is professor in the Divinity School at the University of Chicago. . . . KARL CHWOROWSKY is minister of the Flatbush Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, New York.

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IT DID NOT HAVE TO HAPPEN

Editorial by PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

It did not have to happen. This tormenting thought intruded itself into all our thinking as we impotently watched the Nazi war Juggernaut smash its way through Europe and the Balkans, leaving a bloody trail of ruins and slaves in its wake. Never will we be able to free ourselves of the cruel, piercing knowledge that it did not have to happen, that it would not have happened had we willed otherwise.

If—that terrible, unalterable *if* returns every hour of the day, to plague and torture us.

If the forces of Christianity throughout the world had risen at the first persecution of the Jews in Hitler's Reich. But they did not rise.

If only Hitler had been stopped when he marched into the Rhineland. But he was not stopped.

If shortsighted imperialists in England had only ceased in time with their dangerous game of encouraging Hitler and discouraging France and believing that a strong Nazi Germany could be used as a check against Soviet Russia in the juggler's act of balancing European power. But they went right on playing the game.

No, it did not have to happen. It would not have happened if those nations on whom we now depend to save democracy had responded to the Spanish Republican Government's appeal for help. If democratic leadership had only understood that Madrid was fighting the first skirmish of the Mediterranean battle that now threatens to engulf civilization.

Yes, if only we had closed our ears against the sly, self-righteous words of the appeasers, who sanctimoniously relinquished one strategic point after the other to Hitler as long as their own frontiers were safe.

But we listened, and did not protest.

Today the shadow of the swastika falls over the white sands of Arabia. The Holy Land, door to the great Arabic world and corridor to the rich oil fields of Mesopotamia, is in danger. Palestine, gateway to the East and to the British Empire's chief sources of wealth and power, is menaced by the Nazi military machine as it stands poised for the last leap against Suez from Syria and Egypt.

Now the strategic importance of the Holy Land as a rampart of the British Empire is unmistakably revealed to the world. But London must always have realized the military significance of Palestine. London must always have known that sooner or later the Land of the Bible might become the key position in the struggle for British survival.

Then why did London consistently appease the Arabs and weaken the Jewish position in Palestine? Ever since the Hitler menace loomed up

in Europe, Zionist leaders have pleaded for a strong Jewish army in Palestine. A minimum of 75,000 Jews were ready to take up arms in defense of their last haven of refuge against the forces intent on destroying them. But London refused to listen. Instead, London continued to play Arabs against Jews.

Today there can no longer be any doubt that the Arabs of Iraq and other countries adjoining Palestine—and, for that matter, even the Arabs of Palestine—cannot be depended upon to fight against Hitler. But even today the British government is hesitating to arm the Jewish defenders of Palestine. On the eve of the Battle of Jerusalem, which may decide the fate of our civilization, the young Jews of Palestine stand unarmed and empty-handed in face of an avalanche of tanks and Stukas.

And so again, as the guns roar for the Battle of Jerusalem, we are tormented by the dreadful knowledge that it did not have to happen.

When will Churchill lay the ghost of Chamberlainism and Halifaxism, and save us from the shameful accusation of history—the accusation that it did not have to happen?

"To-day Britain stands as the barrier in the way of Hitler's achievement of his fantastic purpose. Since I believe that this purpose, if not halted, would result in the banishment of all chance of peace on the earth I, as a pacifist, urge 'all out' and full aid to Britain given by this country with the determination that Britain must not fall. The risks involved are far less than the risks we would run if we found ourselves facing the Axis powers alone."

—BISHOP HOBSON.

WAR STRATEGY FOR AMERICAN CHRISTIANS

Editorial by WALTER M. HORTON

We are at war, and need a strategy.

Long ago, we crossed the line between neutrality and non-belligerency. Now, since the seizure of the ships and the seizure of Greenland, we are steaming so fast toward the undefined boundary that still marks us off from formal belligerency that we may cross it before these words get into print. Whether we do cross the line, or by some miracle stop short of it, we have already made clear to our allies and their enemies that *This is our war.*

Christians must make decisions and throw their influence where it will do the most good, in whatsoever state of affairs they may find themselves. I do not like the state of affairs in which I now find myself. I was glad to see our nation abandon a form of "neutrality" which meant helping Japan conquer China and helping Hitler become master of Europe. I am sorry to see us giving up non-belligerency, since as belligerents we cannot do anything about Europe's food emergency, and some great non-belligerent power will have to do something about that, before this year is out. I believe it would have been a rough approximation to the Christian blend of moral severity with unstinting mercy if we had fed Hitler's starving slaves with one hand while arming Britain with the other. Even from a military point of view, the two were not incompatible. British analysts have admitted that the military effectiveness of the blockade would not be greatly altered if foodstuffs were allowed to pass; and hunger is as likely to turn the suffering multitudes against England as against Hitler. But it seems that this particular Christian strategy is not going to be permitted. Belligerency is probably coming. I shall protest and warn against it as long as possible, and I hereby do so once again! But if and when belligerency comes, I shall not sulk in my tent, but try to find a new strategy. Here are a few hasty jottings, to be altered as swift-moving events may require:

1. *Maintain fellowship as far as possible with those who are fighting Antichrist with their bare souls in the midst of Europe's spiritual black-out.*

We may all come to this form of warfare in the end, so flimsy are the defenses of our corrupt democracy. It is not too early to school ourselves in it, now, by emulating those who are practising it. The effectiveness of such last-ditch spiritual resistance must neither be minimized nor exaggerated. The Czechs have practised it for centuries. It did not prevent the majority of them from being forcibly Catholicized, and it will not prevent the majority of Europeans from being forcibly Nazified, if the Terror lasts long enough; but the blood of untamable minorities has been and will be always the seed of new Christian revolutions. Whatever else we do, we must pray for and help out this surviving remnant, and never let them down. As we participate, directly or indirectly, in the attempt to devastate the countries where they live, we shall bear them in our hearts—like that R.A.F. flier who keeps a German Testament with him as a pledge of unity with his German fellow-Christians, even as he dumps his bombs on German munitions-factories and navy-yards.

2. *Do what can still be done, without greatly altering the military situation, to save Europe's masses from starvation and disease.* If the U.S.A. becomes belligerent, the only great non-belligerent remaining will be the U.S.S.R. American Christians might find it possible to help feed Europe by way of Russia, and no suspicions or difficulties should be allowed to block the attempt. If Russians and Americans collaborated successfully in such a good work, they might be led to other and more important forms of collaboration.

3. *Support the Pacifist work-camp movement, and other attempts to construct new cells of Christian community in the midst of decadent capitalist democracy.* Chiang Kai-Shek says that China's present crisis is 70 per cent economic and only 30 per cent military. This is even truer of the U.S.A. No need of recrimination, then, between Christian pacifists and non-pacifists so long as pacifists work constructively at the building of a better economic order and the reconstitution of genuine community in our depersonalized, dehumanized society. If pacifists were not doing this, others would have to do it—much as they'd like to join the army!

4. *Support the "good neighbor" policy in Latin America, and help build a strong system of collective security in the Western Hemisphere.* This

is no easy task, as every traveler in Latin America well knows. While we must avoid imperialism and paternalism, we necessarily bear so much of the burden of it that we may well be excused from more than a *collaborative* rôle in Europe and the Far East. What we can do, together with other friendly powers, to help the cause of democracy in Europe and the Far East, by all means let us do; but it would be bad strategy for us to send great expeditionary forces across the Atlantic or Pacific, when we have such heavy responsibilities in this hemisphere. If Britain cannot hold off Hitler with our material and perhaps our naval aid, then the only sound strategy is to remove the British government and fleet to Canada. If Japan's imperialistic thrust in the Far East cannot be checked by China, the Dutch East Indies, Australia and New Zealand, with such naval aid from us as our responsibility to the Philippines requires, then we must confess defeat and retire to the Western Hemisphere, while Australia and New Zealand fall back upon South Africa. But here in the Western Hemisphere, with Africa south of the Sahara as a possible ally, there could be built a citadel of democracy where it might temporarily defy its foes while reconstructing its whole social order according to more adequately Christian patterns.

The love of France burns strong in Latin America, as I had opportunity to observe last summer, when I witnessed the repercussions of the fall of France in Lima, Santiago, Buénos Aires, Montevideo and Rio. Catholic France and Protestant North America have long had much in common. The dream of a common American culture is therefore not an impossible dream, if the Liberal Catholicism of Jacques Maritain (already very popular in South America) could prevail over the "Pan-Latin" propaganda of General Franco and the feudal, aristocratic prejudices of the Catholic hierarchy. The feudal agrarian civilization of Latin America and the capitalistic industrialism of Anglo-Saxon America might neutralize each other's defects, under wise leadership. Our main attention should be given to this promising task. If the Old World cannot be saved from Hitler without our abandoning this task in the New World, then it cannot be saved at all. Experience has proved that a new order in Europe which needs an American expeditionary force to establish it is too unstable to last. *Help* Europe we must, but our *primary* duty is to the two vast continents we inhabit, and the junior republics which look to us now for protection and friend-

ship as they once looked to France. If our help succeeds, the Pan-American Union will be only one regional unit in a larger world order of the same quality; if our help fails, we shall indeed have a hard time maintaining a free Western Hemisphere, but we are bound to try.

5. *Recognize that any peace negotiated with Hitler is only an armistice.* Ideally, we should hope for a definite victory over Hitler and the establishment of the beginnings of a world federation of free peoples. Under certain conditions, we ought, nevertheless, to negotiate. Those conditions do not obtain at present. By the end of the present year, or a bit earlier or later, the full dynamics of the two conflicting forces in the world may have been developed, and a kind of wavering balance between them established. I suspect that it will be proved that neither of them can win a sweeping world-wide victory without reducing itself to total exhaustion—whereupon the victory would go by default to Soviet Russia. Before exhaustion is reached, it will be necessary to have an armistice, therefore. Napoleon got peace from England, and used it to prepare for further war against England. Hitler would do the same. Nevertheless Napoleon was finally defeated by the rising resentment of the peoples he had conquered. Hitler has less constructive ability than Napoleon. He can beat decadent democracy at the game of war, but he could not beat an aroused and militant democracy at the game of peace. If a five year armistice would not suffice to reestablish the strength and influence of democracy and undermine Hitler's tyranny, then democracy deserves to fall, and the sooner the better. I believe that, failing a satisfactory peace that would establish a free and united Europe, no longer threatening the rest of the world, we should accept an armistice that would secure us temporary freedom in this hemisphere, and a last chance of real reform.

6. *Whatever else we fight against, we must not fight against God's judgment.* God has poured out His judgment on our industrial civilization and our secularized Protestant churches in no uncertain terms. Our chief concern must therefore be to bring our civilization and our religion back in line with God's will. The best that military force can do is to provide a temporary bulwark within which this can be done constructively, without complete lapse into chaos or tyranny. To fight the external enemies of our system as though they were exclusively to blame for the world's woe is to

fight against God's judgment. External enemies are to be fought, if they must be fought, with compassion for their sins and contrition for our own. The enemy that is to be fought mercilessly is the evil in our own life. When our statesmen bombastically praise democracy as the sum of all perfections, and denounce its enemies as perfect devils, Christians must listen with scepticism of mind and uneasiness of conscience. They must *be* the uneasy conscience of their nation, until it repents before God's judgment, and becomes worthy to survive as a part of the radically new world order which God is even now beginning to create: an order of real, deep community of which Fascism's new feudalism and capitalism's anarchic individualism are both only poor parodies.

HON. GREAT EAR

Matsuoka, Japanese fire-eater, did not always sound his war whoops across the Seven Seas. At Geneva, nine years ago, he was a quiet, ingratiating figure, tickling the ears of statesmen with confidential whispers.

One great ear swelled with pride as Matsuoka purred his congratulations. Hon. Great Ear had defended Japan's hooliganism in China better than humble Matsuoka could have done himself. Hon. Great Ear had handcuffed League of Nations policemen and presented Japanese thief with hon. halo.

Hon. Great Ear was Sir John Simon, now our £10,000-a-year Lord Chancellor, whose shame we may yet have to purge with British blood at Singapore.

For some amazing reason, Winston did not reinforce the Empire last May by forcing Simon's resignation. Instead, Winston made him a lord, Lord Chancellor, "Keeper of the King's Conscience."

—CAMERONIAN, REYNOLDS' NEWS.

FRANCO'S PHALANX INVADES U.S.A.

By S. R. HERBERT

"THE PHALANX UNITES THE SPANIARDS OF THE WORLD!" runs a slogan of Franco Spain. The Spanish Phalanx, only legal party of Spain, in true Nazi and Fascist tradition, despite starvation and poverty at home, finds energy and resources for a vigorous pro-Fascist campaign among its nationals scattered over the world. It is not strange that the United States should be included in this campaign, for here Franco has more adherents than does any

Not daring to put a shirted army on the streets of New York City, they wear blue undershirts and on meeting each other, exclaim "¡Arriba España!" and pull open their outer shirts to expose the blue of the Phalanx.

other Fascist leader. These believers are chiefly non-Spaniards guided in their political thinking by the priests and press of the Roman Catholic Church. But the Spanish-speaking people of the United States, in their vast majority resolutely anti-Franco, are today being bombarded by Madrid-inspired propaganda that favors not only Franco but also Hitler and Mussolini and that savagely attacks democracy, the United States, Pan-Americanism and the

Jews. This propaganda comes from three sources, all closely connected: the Spanish Government, the Spanish Phalanx and the Spanish priests of the Roman Catholic Church. This Madrid-guided propaganda spills over into the English-language press, not only through the vast network of the Catholic press, but also through a slick-paper monthly called *Spain*. It has reached into the highest circles of American society through the Spanish Nationalist Relief Committee,

which, boasting of some of the most distinguished names of this country, has openly raised funds for a unit of the Spanish Phalanx.

The strength of the Spanish Fascist movement in this country can be gauged from the fact that three Princes of the Church have accepted decorations from its government, that the House of Representatives of New Mexico—a state included in the territory Franco is trying to regain for the Spanish

Empire—publicly petitioned the President to recognize Franco, that numerous Congressmen, including the present Speaker of the House, have upheld Franco and that Martin Dies, head of the Congressional Committee supposed to investigate Fascist activities, has worked closely for several years with one of Franco's leading spokesmen in this country, Merwin K. Hart, and has repeatedly parroted Franco's propaganda lines and mouthed his slogans.

A map published by the Foreign Service of the Phalanx early in 1939 showed Phalanx headquarters in both San Francisco and New York City. The chief work of the Spanish Phalanx in the United States today is done through three "front" agencies: the Spanish Library of Information, the Casa de España and the Club Isabel y Fernando. The Spanish Library of Information, an official Franco agency, and the Casa de España, an association of wealthy shippers, exporters and professional men, work closely together and constitute the respectable front for Franco's work in this country. Separate from them, under the banner of the Club Isabel y Fernando, the more revolutionary Falangists operate. It is in an effort to enlarge the scope of the propaganda work in this country that Spain has been

endeavoring to set up in the United States a branch of EFE, official Spanish foreign news service, to be under José Antonio Jiménez Arnau, who was until recently Inspector-Extraordinary of the Foreign Service of the Spanish Phalanx in Italy and the Balkans, and whose brother Ricardo, head of the Foreign Service of the Phalanx, is in charge of all the Phalanx work outside of Spain.

The Spanish Library of Information, until recently called the Peninsular News Service, with offices at 2 East 34th Street, New York City, represents the National Press Bureau of the Department of the Interior of Franco Spain. The resident agent in charge is Javier Gaytán de Ayala, considered by the Spanish Government its Press Attaché in this country, a status our government does not recognize. In its State Department registration the Spanish Library of Information gives as the nature of its business the following: "Maintenance of a library and dissemination through publication and distribution of magazines, books, pamphlets, bulletins, press releases and otherwise, of information, news and ideas concerning or relating to the government, trade, commerce and other industries, people and culture of Spain and the development

and promotion of commercial and cultural relations therewith."

This registration neglects to mention one of the most important facts regarding the work of the Spanish Library of Information, namely, that its weekly, tabloid-size publication *Cara al Sol* ("Face to the Sun," title of the official Falangist hymn) is the official United States organ of the Foreign Service of the Spanish Phalanx. It carries in every issue the official insignia of the Phalanx—the Yoke and Arrows of those earlier imperialists, Ferdinand and Isabella—which it describes as "our emblem," and frequently prints the official orders of the Foreign Service of the Phalanx.

Cara al Sol, an enthusiastic supporter of the reconquest of the Spanish Empire, on March 11, 1939, wrote: "It is indispensable that the good Spaniards who live outside of Spain impose on themselves, without regard to classes, the obligation of helping in the task of making Spain a great nation."

On April 22, 1939, *Cara al Sol* printed the following Falangist statement which leaves no doubt as to the newspaper's revolutionary and imperialist task in the Americas:

"The voice of Spain sounds loud again in the concert of races and nations and the victorious trumpets

of Franco carry our archangelic voice to all the corners of the globe. Our missionary labor has begun. Spanish America again turns its eyes to us and again on the other side of the Atlantic there are bent knees for the triumph of Franco. The race has heard once more the voice of God, and *Hispanidad*, aware of its historic mission, is again on the march behind the haughty banners of national-syndicalism. Spain again has legions and a just and victorious Caesar. It is now the work of the Phalanx to unify the desires of those millions of Spaniards who far from the Motherland feel in their bodies a physical nostalgia and in their souls the pride of our old glory; and to incorporate ourselves in a gigantic task in tune with the century and to shout to the world that our jurisprudence, our industry and our spiritual influence have the right of hegemony over a third of the earth, for reasons of history and because of the strength of the bonds that link us to the Spanish world. Hundreds of thousands of Blue Shirts scattered over the continents demand this with their arms on high in salute, their faces to the new dawn and in each corner a flag with the Yoke and the Arrows, kissed by the wind, speaks of the imperial mission of Spain. This is the essential func-

tion of the Foreign Service of the Phalanx and this is our arduous missionary task."

Franco's Library of Information also appeals to readers of English through the monthly *Spain*. Its chief editor is Francis X. Connolly, Ph.D., of Fordham University. Primarily intended to win Catholic support for Franco, it also openly defends Fascism. "Fascism is at least theistic and it respects and promotes the values of religious institutions. . . . The Fascist dictatorship, which respects individual liberty and dignity, private property and savings, the family and the nation, morals and religion, inserts itself in ordered civilization," declares a *Spain* author. On October 1, 1939, a *Spain* writer affirmed: "Authentic Fascism establishes order, invokes unity of destiny and gathers together all the vital forces of a people." *Spain's* military expert for the past two years, Major John Eoghan Kelly of the United States Army Reserves (promoted since he has been engaged in this Fascist work), has a long record of semi-Fascist activities with the Reserve Officers Association and later with New York anti-Semitic groups and Christian Fronters. He has agitated for Almazán and is the Mexican and Spanish expert for the Jesuit weekly

America. Chrysler Motors is a frequent advertiser in *Spain*.

In addition to *Spain* and *Cara al Sol*, the Spanish Library of Information distributes the New York monthly *Nueva España* (New Spain), published by Alonso F. Argüelles. This magazine is pro-Hitler, pro-Mussolini, pro-Franco and, not surprisingly, is one of New York's most anti-Semitic publications. In this magazine for March, 1940, A. Sánchez Saavedra writes:

"The Jewish chain, in order to shackle with efficiency and to continue deceiving the universe, needs to maintain intact all its links. Fortunately, the appearance of Hitler on the political and diplomatic scene has pulverized the Jewish-German link and whatever may be the outcome of the present war, the world is witnessing the last act of the great Jewish farce."

The same author wrote in the April, 1940, issue: "Speculation, stock manipulation, swindling, deception and systematic cheating constitute the exclusive biographical data of every Jew. . . ." The leading editorial of the November, 1940, issue concluded with:

"If among the results of the present war we can count the appearance of a world *free from the Jewish press* in place of the perpetuation

of the *Jewish free press*, European blood will not have been shed in vain."

In the same issue Hugo Ferri denounces Pan-Americanism as being "of Jewish and Protestant origin." This Nazi organ is not only distributed by Franco's official propaganda agency in New York City, but carries advertisements from the Spanish Library of Information, the Spanish Consulate, the National Spanish Relief Association and various banking establishments within Franco Spain. The Hotel St. George of Brooklyn, Fornos Restaurant and other New York enterprises are advertised in *Nueva España*.

Cara al Sol during the absence of Gaytán de Ayala is edited by a Spaniard named Francisco de Larcegui, who is also the official propagandist in the United States for our "good neighbors" the Guatemalan and Honduran governments. He has done similar work for the Dominican Republic. He is a frequent contributor to Havana's largest daily, the belligerently pro-Franco *Diario de la Marina*. Señor Larcegui is also vice-president of the Casa de España. This organization was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York in 1937 and now maintains sumptuous quarters in the Park Central Hotel. It claims a member-

ship of three hundred. These members give the Fascist salute, defend Hitler and Mussolini. On its reading table can be found copies of *Hispanidad*, organ of the Phalanx in Mexico; *Cara al Sol*; *Diario de la Marina*; *Spain*; *The Tablet*, pro-Franco organ of the Brooklyn diocese, etc.

The Casa de España itself publishes pamphlets containing Franco's speeches and the fascistic Labor Charter of Franco Spain. On the walls of the suite hang a large painting of General Franco by Dorda, and various autographed photographs of the military and political leaders of Falangist Spain. Luis Alvarez, the Casa's secretary, does not like to tell the names of the Casa's officers, but they are well known. The president is Marcelino García Rubiera, partner in the shipping firm of García y Díaz. He is the United States representative of the Spanish Tourist Bureau, which, like the Spanish Library of Information, is under the direction of the Minister of the Interior in Spain. García also represents with his partner, in the United States and Cuba, various shipping companies controlled by the Spanish Government. Both García and Díaz were naturalized in 1938, while deeply involved in Fascist activities.

The Spanish ships represented by

García y Díaz are utilized extensively by the Cuban Phalanx and it was on their ships, according to Spanish Republican sources, that there arrived in New York City, late in 1940, relays of ten Falangists who made an extensive directory of the Spaniards living in this area, their property and their *politics*. Pro-democratic Spaniards of New York with relatives still in Spain are threatened with becoming the victims of a huge Nazi-style blackmail plot.

From a Falangist newspaper picked up from the reading table of the Casa de España we translate the following.

"But we recognize that our enemies today are also those of yesterday; those who—after seeing us fallen, after having annihilated us as a world power and having forced us to lose imperial dimensions, and after having deprived us, when we were tired, of our strength, our will and our faith in the destinies of Spain—stretch out to us the false hand of tourist curiosity. . . . We hate those enemies who do not admit their enmity, but who, working under the cloak of a dead hispanicism, endanger in many places the living Spanish on the lips of Filipinos, Puerto Ricans or Nicaraguans. . . . We want every Span-

iard to have knowledge of the greatness and sacrifice meant by forming part of the great hispanic brotherhood of 200 millions of human beings of all races. Every Spaniard has a duty to seek perfection in his task in order that Spain may again be the spiritual axis of this world. . . . That our Empire is fragmentary and disunited pains us, but we feel the strength of the irremediable and even congratulate ourselves that this political disunion should make the bonds that still link us to the hispanic world more spiritual and our plans more disinterested and purer. Catalonia, the Basque country, Galicia, all will have their voices in the Empire. And then, language, customs, history will find their true liberty under the sign—the Yoke and the Arrows—of the Empire, of the Empire of the Spanish World, which will have its spiritual center in Spain, but will breathe, with a sense of unity, throughout the entire world, and will know how to speak to the world with the unanimous voice of 200 million men."

The present Ambassador to the United States from Franco Spain, Juan Francisco de Cárdenas, has long been honorary president of the Casa de España and attends every function. The hymn of the Fascist

Phalanx is always sung at these affairs. Miguel Espinós, New York Consul-General of Spain, is an honorary member of the Casa, as is Sylvester Sabatino, magistrate of the City Court of Brooklyn, who praised Franco at a Casa de España function held at the School of the Franciscan Fathers, at 30 West 16th Street, on December 16, 1938.

The Casa de España and its subsidiaries work closely with the pro-Franco groups of Puerto Rico. Dr. Ramón Castroviejo, a founder of the Casa de España, went on a pro-Franco mission to Puerto Rico during the war. Propagandists sent out from Spain to spread Falangism, for example the Legion Captain Julio de la Torre, and López Ferrer, visited both San Juan and New York City as circuit stops.

A special Casa de España function was held in New York City on the night of February 24, 1940. Señor Larcegui discoursed on the glories of Fascist Spain and the Spanish Ambassador presented medals to sixteen members of the National Spanish Relief Association, Inc., of 20 Vesey Street, New York City, including such prominent members of the Spanish colony as Dr. Ramón Castroviejo, Juan Gallego, Emilio González (President) and Manuel Oviedo (Vice-President). This organ-

ization, founded by the Casa de España, has a direct tie-up with the Phalanx through *Auxilio Social*, which is by no means a relief organization, but an integral part of the Falangist party set-up in Spain. While the National Spanish Relief Association, Inc., worked the Spanish population for the Phalanx, its English-speaking counterpart, the Spanish Nationalist Relief Committee ("American representative for raising funds in the United States for *Auxilio Social*—Social Help Service—which represents in a marvelous manner the spirit and unity of New Spain") raised money for this Fascist party among the English-speaking people. The following have been publicly advertised as members of the Committee: Dr. Alexander Hamilton Rice, James W. Gerard, W. Cameron Forbes, Mary Pickford, Anne Morgan, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney and Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishop of Philadelphia. Since the regulations of the Phalanx expressly forbid *Auxilio Social* to raise money save under the direct supervision of the Phalanx, we can assume that both of these committees worked under the guidance of the Spanish Phalanx. Neither of these is very active at this time and the Feminine Section of the Casa de

España does most of the fund-raising for *Auxilio Social* now carried on in this country. Recently when Falangist agents working with the Gestapo were driven from Gibraltar (about four years too late), the ladies of the Casa de España made a bit of Nazi propaganda by giving a picnic to raise money for the "refugees from Gibraltar." The Gibraltar Fund Committee is one of the most active pro-Franco propaganda and fund-raising groups in New York City.

Active in the Feminine Section of the Casa de España is Señora Etelvina Lubiano of 78 Livingston Avenue, Yonkers, New York. Her house is reportedly a center for Falangist activities and she is said to be in close touch with Pilar Primo de Rivera, head of the Feminine Section of the Falangist party. Her sister, Mrs. Lusares, 3856 10th Avenue, Manhattan, is also active in the work. Another fervent supporter of the Franco movement is Doña Mary Greevy de García, American-born wife of Marcelino García Rubiera.

Distinct from the organizations discussed above is the Club Isabel y Fernando. This club contains the bolder spirits of the Spanish Phalanx in New York City. Their leaders are José de Perignat, a man of around

sixty years, and his son, aged twenty-three, of 500 West 144th Street, Apartment 2D, Manhattan. The Club Isabel y Fernando meets every Thursday night to eat the one-course meal (*plato único*) that signifies the sacrifice of every true Falangist so that Spain may again be an Empire. The membership records of this Club are sent to Spain. This group is tied to the Spanish Phalanx through the Foreign Service. Not daring to put a shirted army on the streets of New York City, they wear blue undershirts and on meeting each other, exclaim "*¡Arriba España!*" and pull open their outer shirts to expose the blue of the Phalanx. A frequent meeting place for members of the Club is the Reno bar and night club on West 145th Street. The owner, Señor Alonso, is sympathetic, and his barman, Joe, who does not hide his sympathies for Hitler and Mussolini, is a member of Club Isabel y Fernando.

José de Perignat, a Spanish newspaperman, is the New York delegate of the Phalanx's Foreign Service subsidiary—the Office for the Exchange of Press and Propaganda Abroad. His work is considered dangerous by the Casa de España members (who are nearly all men of substance), but they have in vain protested to Spain about his activi-

ties. He receives frequent visits from officers of the Spanish boats touching at this port—represented by García y Díaz—and from important looking Spaniards passing through New York City. When Genaro Riestra, Falangist agent who has been kicked out of both Mexico and Cuba, arrived here from Havana in April enroute to Spain on a García y Díaz boat, he held long daily conferences with Perignat.

Señor de Perignat, makes frequent visits to the offices of *La Prensa*, New York's Spanish daily, carrying mimeographed bulletins and thin-paper news releases bearing the insignia of the Spanish Phalanx and the words: "*Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS—Delegación Nacional del Servicio Exterior—Intercambio de Prensa y Propaganda Exterior*," and the motto "Franco unites the Spaniards of all the world." *La Prensa* uses a certain amount of this material. The newspaper, however, is not pro-Franco, but has tried to straddle the issues of recent Spanish history. A letter of inquiry sent from New York City to the Spanish Phalanx of Cuba will result in a visit from Señor de Perignat, who considers *Cara al Sol* a bit stuffy and not forthright enough in presenting the imperial claims of Spain. Because of

his dislike for *Cara al Sol*, Señor de Perignat has been dickering with Alonso F. Argüelles, publisher of *Nueva España* to make that pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic paper the official organ of the Club Isabel y Fernando. This dickering may account for the fact that recent issues of *Nueva España* print extensively from Mexico's Falangist organ *Hispanidad*.

A branch of Club Isabel y Fernando has been established in Boston, and plans are afoot to spread the organization throughout the Spanish centers of the United States. It is this ambitious program that makes José de Perignat so valuable that the wealthy Casa de España members cannot have him quieted.

In talking to the writer of this article, Señor de Perignat expressed alarm for his personal safety and added that he feared that he might be thrown in jail. This latter fear might be based quite justifiably on the fact that he is working for a foreign principal without appropriate registration at the Department of State.

Most of the Spanish Catholic priests in the United States are actively pro-Franco. Among the most militant are Father Gómez of the Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Medalla Milagrosa, 77 St. Nicholas

Avenue, New York City, and Father Galván, formerly of the same church but now of Los Angeles. Another active figure is Father Leandro Mayoral, who has spoken for Franco, among other places, at the Church of San Pedro, 117 Warren St., Brooklyn; the Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, on 14th Street, Manhattan; at a farewell supper for the prominent Casa de España member, Antonio Gallego, held at the Alhambra Restaurant on Stone Street (a popular pro-Franco hang-out); at the Casa de España, where on one occasion he read a speech commemorating the presentation of a Spanish rebel flag to the organization. In Brooklyn Father Pablo Ramis is an active *Franquista*. He visited Franco Spain in January, 1939, and on his return home was welcomed at various pro-Franco celebrations, one of which was attended by Congressman Thomas Cullen.

A frequent contributor to the Falangist *Spain* is Father David Rubio, a Spanish Augustinian who, though pro-Franco, is curator of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, conceived as one of the bulwarks of our cultural drive on Spanish America. The Falangist press of Mexico speaks favorably of Father Rubio. He is a frequent visitor to the Spanish Embassy. The

Spanish Ambassador presented him with an award on Cervantes Day of 1940. *Cara al Sol*, Falangist organ of New York City, reported on Father Rubio's part in the celebration of May 20, 1939, when the Spanish Fascists took over the Embassy in Washington:

"Then Father Rubio spoke, praising the Motherland and its civilizing work, with which the spiritual Empire of our race was founded—the Empire that caused the material and spiritual reconquest of Spain itself, center of *Hispanidad*, by the glorious troops of the Generalissimo and Caudillo of Spain."

At the Church of San Pedro of the Paulist Fathers in Brooklyn, on May 14, 1939, a high mass was held to celebrate the victory of the Franco forces in Spain. Among those in attendance were Consul-General Miguel Espinós and Miguel Echegaray, sub-delegate of Press and Propaganda (a Falangist term) of the Peninsular News Service. Photographs of this service show young girls in the uniform of the Feminine Section of the Spanish Phalanx.

Such prominent Catholic publicists as Father Francis X. Talbot, S.J., editor of *America*, and Patrick Scanlan, managing editor of the *Tablet*, diocesan organ of Brooklyn, attended the July 18, 1939, celebra-

tion of the Casa de España at the Hotel Commodore.

One of the most important centers of Catholic-Falangist propaganda is the Jesuit-controlled weekly *Revista Católica* of El Paso, Texas. The *Revista* and its pamphlets circulate widely throughout Southern United States and Spanish America. It fervently upholds Franco and supports the Phalanx across the border in Mexico. Fernando de los Ríos, wartime Ambassador from Spain, is denounced as "of Jewish origin;" the Spanish Catholics, it tells its readers, were the "victims of a triple conspiracy: communist, Jewish and masonic." Jews are the butts of cruel jokes in the magazine's comic section.

The purpose of Phalanx activities in this country is not to take us over, but to soften up American public opinion for the spread of Falangism to Spanish America, a project that already has the support of much Catholic official opinion in this country. In view of our efforts to capture South American good will, it is puzzling how the United States Government can spend money to feed the people starving in Spain while the Spanish Government spends its money on the Foreign Service of the Phalanx. It might well be in order for our State Department to suggest that the expenses of the Foreign Service of the Phalanx could be better spent on this desperately needed food for the people of Spain.

I have before me a photostat of a Standard-Vacuum bill of lading for 265,200 gallons of Pennsylvania-emblem motor oil to be shipped aboard the Tusima Maru from New York harbor "about March 23/24." It is marked, "No Socony shield or mention of company name to appear on package."

—I. F. STONE, *The Nation*, April 15, 1941.

CRUMP, MEMPHIS & CO.

By MARY BLACKWELL HUNT

—*The Negro problem is
the white man.*

FOR thirty odd years Memphis has been in the hands of a political machine autocratically directed by E. H. Crump, one-time mayor of the city. Although for many years he has held no political office, his word is law! The

local newspapers headline, "Crump Says We Need A New Bridge Over the Mississippi," and the next day the Tennessee Legislature appoints a "Bridge Committee." The duly elected mayor, representatives, senator

and other officers in the government of Shelby County of which Memphis is the great portion, are merely Crump's mouth-pieces. In fact, a little more than a year ago, when the nominations for a new mayor were being discussed, the usual nominating petition was handed around the Court House and City

Hall for signatures of the machine employees. All signed without demur—and the line carrying the name of the nominee was left blank!! No one knew what name might be written in, but they all

signed. No other nominee entered the field, and it was not until the day before the election that a formal announcement of the candidate's name was made. It proved to be E. H. Crump himself! He announced publicly through the press

that he wanted for mayor the man who was at that time Congressman in Washington and who was therefore not eligible to run for election. Immediately Congressman Walter Chandler resigned, came to Memphis in time to be appointed mayor by Mayor Crump's Commissioners when Mayor Crump him-

Democracy and Christianity! Great concepts with a common base. Both challenged today by our refusal to accept as citizen and brother the man with the darker skin who still suffers from the treatment we meted out to him a century and more ago. Instead of facing him with a sense of superiority, we should approach this whole problem with sincere humility for our crimes.

self resigned three minutes after having taken the Oath of Office.

It can readily be understood that so powerful a "boss" will not meekly tolerate opposition and it has been a simple matter to intimidate both white and Negro citizens of Memphis and "keep them in line." Labor has also suffered from such intimidation. Police brutality, and beatings "by unknown assailants" are the customary methods used to coerce recalcitrant individuals when threats to jobs, or property, or life prove ineffectual.

The latest series of such intimidations has been directed against the Negroes and began last October with the police surveillance of two places of business owned by Negro Republicans. One of these was a large and popular drug store, the only such store in the city where Negroes can enjoy fountain service, and in which is located a Post Office substation; the other was a restaurant and soft drink parlor on "Beale Street." Police were stationed in front of these places and allowed no one to enter without submitting to search of their persons. Persons who refused to be searched were immediately arrested.

Dr. J. B. Martin, owner of the drug store and Negro Republican leader, said that he had been previ-

ously warned to call off a large Republican rally and that police took up their places at his store within three hours after he had sent the administration his refusal. This surveillance was continued until late in December. At the "Beale Street" place, police even refused to allow regular patrons to enter—sent them away, telling them to "eat some place else." The Catholic priest (white) making a parish call on the proprietor's wife was required by a policeman to take off his shoes before he was allowed to enter. After a few weeks of such interference with business the proprietor was forced to sell this place, his taxi business, and a pool-hall on the same street. All this surveillance was claimed by the police to be an attempt to stop an illicit trade in narcotics.

Numerous protests finally forced the attention of the Department of Justice in Washington which sent an "investigator." He stayed two days, talked with the Mayor and the Chief of Police, and to no Negroes. He returned to Washington with the statement that there was insufficient evidence of illegality to do anything further! He made the statement that he "had read the Civil Rights Amendments to the Police Chief."

The Negro newspapers (there are two in Memphis) printed stories and

protests. The local Inter-racial Commission sent a letter of protest to the Chief of Police. Immediately a communication appeared in the local papers, which, because it opens a window upon certain Southern mentalities, I must quote in full. (From *The Press-Scimitar*, Memphis, December 5, 1940, p. 10).

"Commissioner Boyle's letter to Rev. S. E. Howie of the Interracial Co-operation Committee follows:

"Dec. 4, 1940

"Rev. S. E. Howie, D.D.

"Chairman of the Interracial Co-operation Committee,

"1233 Lamar Avenue,

"Memphis, Tenn.

"Dear Sir:

"Upon my return to the city yesterday Mayor Chandler referred the statement of the Commission on Interracial Co-operation to me for consideration.

"I observe that James C. Dickerson, Weldon Beasley, Z. L. Bonner, Louis O. Swingler are members of your committee. These men run negro newspapers here in Memphis. For many months these papers have been carrying on a campaign with inflammatory articles calculated to disrupt the present friendly relations

between the white and negro races in this community. . . .

"These selfish and unprincipled negro paper promoters must know they cannot write this character of stuff. *They are not going to carry on and conduct themselves in Memphis as if they lived in Chicago, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.*

"We have never had it before and we will never have it. For after all *this is a white man's country.*

"These papers have been talking about the taxes negroes pay and that the negroes should make certain demands and assert themselves on that account, and emphasize the fact there shouldn't be any white preferment. Mayor Chandler will very shortly give a detailed statement of what taxes the negroes pay for their schools, playgrounds, wading and swimming pools, hospitals, streets, lights, parks—in fact, everything.

"With their large population, it is less than 5 per cent of the taxes paid. The total amount collected would not pay for what is spent for negro health at John Gaston Hospital, to say nothing of the Shelby County Hospital and the Insane Asylum. The negroes contribute less than \$1,000 to the Community Fund and receive approximately \$30,000 worth of benefits from this agency alone.

"When these detailed facts are shown you will see clearly what the white people have been doing for the negroes and resent, as I do, the presumptuous ingratitude of these negro editors, and the few discontented colored preachers, like Rev. Long, Gibson, and Perry, and two or three more, who also object to white supremacy. Yet they ought to realize that except for the payment of the greater burden of taxes by the white people, there would be no money to do anything for the members of their race. *I will deal with them if they continue their present activities.* The white people are making everything possible for the negroes, but they are not complaining. The negroes who contribute nothing are the ones who are demanding more and in an unbecoming and arrogant way.

"I fully realize that these discontented elements represent a very small and insignificant proportion of our negro population, who are and have been honest, contented and law-abiding citizens. We have many very excellent negro doctors, several lawyers, hundreds of good and well-meaning negro preachers, and with Professor Blair Hunt our school teachers are far above the average—outstanding in the South and a credit to the city and the race. Like-

wise, there are many negroes engaged in small businesses, in restaurants, and as merchants, undertakers, insurance agents and mail carriers. I do not mean in the slightest way to reflect on the good, honest negro who does not, I am sure, approve the activities of this fanatical, unappreciative group, seeking a social equality which will never come in this community. Of course, the negroes are privileged to engage in any legitimate, lawful occupation and they need not fear the police.

"As fire and police commissioner I have and am still endeavoring to enforce the law regardless of race, color, class or creed.

"Please don't be disturbed—have no misgivings about the negroes here. Much has been done for them. Mayor Walter Chandler, Mr. E. W. Hale and Mr. E. H. Crump have had their interest at heart for many years—long before a majority of the Interracial Commission came to live in Memphis—. . .

"Lawlessness of this city is our problem night and day and I suggest you leave it to us—we know what we are doing.

"We are especially apprehensive of the illegal traffic in narcotics. . .

"Of course, you are not informed and it would be a careless assump-

tion for you to acquit anyone until you know all the facts.

"Dr. J. B. Martin and his wife went out to Barnum and Bailey Circus, and, being of light color, bought tickets and sat in the seats reserved for white people. He gloated over this social equality.

"It is utterly beyond my understanding how you white ministers can get in on a proposition of this kind when you are so poorly informed on what is actually going on. . . .

"Yours very truly,

"JOSEPH P. BOYLE,

"Commissioner of
Public Safety."

(I have it on good authority that not Boyle, but Crump himself wrote this letter, while Boyle was away, and took it to the Mayor to sign it and send it, but the Mayor refused, so it awaited Boyle's return. The italics are mine.)

Threatening letters were received by each of the negro newspaper editors and also by several negro ministers. In fact, in another article of this type, Boyle says that there are 19 negro newspaper editors, preachers, lawyers who had better leave town, that he "will deal with them" if they don't! Also, the ministers received letters signed by the Mayor

telling them to keep politics out of the pulpit.

Then police began stopping Negroes on the street for no reason whatever—searching them, sometimes taking them down to headquarters for bullying questions. This has happened to many of our students. Police also began rounding up patrons of Negro restaurants and soft-drink parlors, lining them up against the wall and searching them for knives. Each one on whom a knife of any kind was found had to appear in Court and pay a fine of \$51. One good middle-class Negro, a postman, quiet and respectable, reports that they found an ordinary pen-knife in his pocket, and when he was brought before the Judge the policeman held up a large dirk with a ten-inch blade and said that it was the knife they had found on him. Of course, denial did no good and he, too, paid the fine.

Last winter the Police Commissioner announced that he had been receiving reports of impudence of Negroes on the city street cars and busses and that he was going to order police on the cars, to see that the Jim Crow laws were obeyed. Many Negroes were arrested in this latest drive. My students brought in many stories of their experiences, since most of them use the cars daily

in going to and from this school. One girl came in crying—a policeman had come into a quiet, peaceful trolley with about 7 Negroes and 8 white people on it. The Negroes were in the back, the whites in front, with two empty seats between the two groups, but the Negroes each occupied a separate seat, since the car was not crowded. The policeman strode in swinging his "billy" and yelled, "Get back there in the back seats, you dirty niggers—who do you think you are?" And he made them all huddle together in a few seats in the rear.

Another story: A Negro man was sitting in the farthest rear seat. The car filled up with whites, all seats being occupied by them, but this Negro kept his seat. The policeman came back and told him to get up. The Negro remarked that he was already in the last seat and couldn't

move any farther back and that he had paid the same fare as the white people. The "cop" arrested him and as he was pushing him out at the corner an old Negro woman said, "Lordy, Lordy, what next?" Thereupon the policeman arrested her, too!

Space and time do not permit me to tell you the countless other incidents which have occurred almost daily, the cumulative evidence of which is almost unbelievable.

Democracy and Christianity! Great concepts with a common base. Both challenged today by our refusal to accept as citizen and brother the man with the darker skin who still suffers from the treatment we meted out to him a century and more ago. Instead of facing him with a sense of superiority, we should approach this whole problem with sincere humility for our crimes.

If the Pope were a civil ruler and there were a conflict, I would go to war against the Pope."

—FATHER FRANCIS P. DUFFY in an address before the National Republican Club, New York Times, January 29, 1928.

THE HERESY OF DEMOCRACY

By LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH

—The Church was the principal banking power of Mexico.

It may seem strange that the two heroes of the fight for Mexican independence should be Catholic priests, Padre Miguel Hidalgo and Padre José María Morelos. It is eloquent testimony to the fact that priests who devote themselves to the teaching and practice of Christian principles, keeping themselves uncontaminated by the political intrigues of their Church, may become great leaders of men in times of moral crisis. We have known such men in our own and in other lands and we honor them. In Mexico the moral crisis from which the people suffered was produced by the fusion of an ambitious and arrogant Mexican church with an ambitious and arrogant civil authority representing the crown of Spain. Padre Hidalgo and Padre Morelos, in turn, were captured and handed over to "the secular arm" as heretics by the Church. As heretics they were executed for daring to teach the people "the heresy of the equality of man." The head of Padre Morelos, who had had the temerity to carry on for several years after the execution of Padre Hidalgo, his Mentor and friend, was affixed to a staff atop a royalist castle. The attitude of the Mexican church toward these men fixes its attitude toward the common people of Mexico and their aspirations to liberty.

Hidalgo proclaimed Mexico's independence in 1810. Though the movement, carried on for some ten years, was put down for the time being, it prospered eventually. In 1824 Mexico, firmly separated from Spain, adopted its first Republican constitution. The Church refused to accept the accomplished fact and continued its intrigues on behalf of Spain and the Vatican. There ensued some thirty odd years of bitter struggle during which the Church was unrelenting in its attempts to crush the Republic.

Nevertheless, by 1856 the Republic was firmly established on a popular basis, and a Republican Congress was busy framing a second constitution. A new leader had arisen in the person of Benito Juarez. He was that rare combination of a man who, wedded to great ideals, had at the same time the capacity to bring them into being and practice. He had already

Original Article.

promulgated the reform laws, the chief effect of which was to establish the Church in its proper relation to Mexican society. While it remained the recognized Church to the point of enjoying a monopoly in religion, it was divested of those privileges which placed it above the law of the land, and of the power to exact tributes of the people on various pretexts. But the chief of the reforms was known as the law of "desamortización" which had as its object the restoring to the economic wealth of the country the vast land holdings of the Church, now considered "dead" because of their ecclesiastical ownership. The Church at this time was the principal banking power of Mexico. It arose now in arms. The Bishops excommunicated any and all who had anything to do with the reforms or should take advantage of them. Soon the Church was promoting a rebellious movement, one of many in which it had, or was still to have, a share. But the government put it down and carried on.

One of the steps taken by the government was a new order for the suppression of the Jesuits. These had already been suppressed some years previously but a tolerant people had allowed them to filter in again. Being considered the most able and active conspirators implicated in the latest revolt they now received new attention.

The new constitution, finished on February 3 and sworn to on February 5, 1857, began with a declaration of the rights of man. It said to the people in its preamble: "You are free and in full enjoyment of all those faculties which you have received from the Supreme Being for the development of your intelligence and the attainment of your well being. From this day forth equality shall be the greatest law of the Republic. . . . In Mexico, before God and the world, shall truly be practiced the inviolability of human life." There was a full bill of rights for the people. In America it was viewed with great sympathy. President Lincoln's Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, called it "the greatest instrument of its kind in the world."

But even before this constitution had been promulgated, while it was still in its draft form, it was condemned and "annulled" at Rome. In a secret consistory held on December 15, 1856, Pope Pius IX addressed the sacred college in very harsh language concerning the proposed constitution and the accompanying reforms. In the course of his allocution he used these words:

"The [Mexican] government, after having deprived the clergy of its double vote in the popular elections . . . withdrew from it the privilege of immunity from civil law which it had always enjoyed. . . . The government did not fear to declare that it would never submit its acts to the supreme authority of the Apostolic See. . . ." Here follows a condemnation of the reform laws.

"Nor yet is this all, for the mentioned Chamber of Deputies, among many other insults heaped upon our most holy religion, upon its sacred ministers and pastors, and upon the vicar of Christ upon earth, proposed a new constitution composed of numerous articles, not a few of which were in opposition to the same divine religion with its salutary doctrine, with its most sacred precepts and with its rights. Among other things there was proscribed in this proposed constitution the privilege and exemption of the clergy from civil law; it was established that no one could enjoy an emolument which should be burdensome for society; it was with general character prohibited to enter into obligation by way of religious contract, or promise or vow; and in order the more easily to corrupt customs and to propagate more and more the detestable pest of indifferentism and wrest our most holy religion from the souls of men, the free exercise of all forms of religion was permitted and the faculty was conceded of emitting publicly whatever kind of opinions and thoughts.

"Far be it from us that, in the presence of such a perturbation of sacred things, and of this oppression of the Church, of its power and its liberty, we should ever fail in the duty which our ministry imposes upon us. Therefore . . . we raise our pontifical voice with apostolic liberty in this your full reunion, in order to condemn, reprobate, and pronounce revoked and without value whatever the mentioned decrees and all the rest which the civil authority has practiced with such disdain of the ecclesiastical authority of this Holy See, and with such injury to religion, to the sacred pastors and to the illustrious men [of the Church]. . . ."

These words of the Pope serve further to fix the position of the Church toward governments which, like Mexico, attempted to place the

Church in a position of amenability to the law, and have otherwise established liberal principles. The Pope's condemnation had the effect of inciting the preaching of a veritable crusade against the Republic in Mexico. An armed rebellion of serious proportions ensued. The liberal Mexican government had the effective aid of the United States in putting it down. From this fact stems a particular bitterness which characterized the attitude and conduct of Pope Pius IX toward Abraham Lincoln.

This phase of Vatican conflict with the United States over the question of Mexico, will be studied in the next article.

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

My dear Mr. President:

In the New York Times, page 7, issue of April 18, 1941, appears a story, under a Rome date-line, indicating that the Vatican expects the early appointment of another Envoy of this Government. The story goes on to state:

"The Envoy is expected to reside in the Vatican. There has been no American representative to the Holy See since Myron C. Taylor left at the end of last year. Several names have been mentioned from time to time as likely names for the post, but so far no definite confirmation has been available."

As one who protested the appointment of Mr. Taylor, believing that such appointment without the consent and approval of the Senate violated the Constitution of the United States; and further, that such appointment, even though it should have had the consent and approval of the Senate, would still be in violation of the Constitution of the United States in its implicit guarantee that there shall be no law regarding the establishment of religion, I most respectfully express the hope that you will not again appoint an Envoy to the Vatican.

Praying the blessings of our Father on a united nation, and upon you as our chosen leader, I am

Sincerely yours,

LOUIE D. NEWTON.

THE FAILURE OF AN INTELLECTUAL MISSION

By JOSEPH BRAININ

—Some Marginal Notes on
*Louis Fischer's Autobiography**

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL literature should be the most intimate and hence the most genuine writing. Yet it seldom is. Usually it is the most artificial kind of literature, because few authors know their subject—themselves—well enough, and still fewer have a sensitive self-critical faculty. How many writers or, for that matter, statesmen or generals see themselves as they really are? As a rule they write of themselves with a solemn respect that they seldom bring to a less familiar subject. The line of demarcation between what one is and what one would like to be is so thin, so almost invisible that one easily steps across it. A little prejudice in one's own favor is all too human. *Men and Politics* is an autobiography in the sense that it is an artificial piece of literature, written by a man who respects himself immensely.

To our knowledge of that phase of the last two decades of European political history which Louis Fischer did not witness personally he does not add much in *Men and Politics*.

Whatever events occur while Fischer does not happen to be around lose their importance. Thus his observations of the evolution of Hitlerism and the rise and decline of France are commonplace. His efforts to dramatize them through personal even if irrelevant interviews with political personages prove dismal failures. Louis Fischer, who believes himself to be a very thorough and active student of life, actually emerges in his book as rather aloof and detached. He seldom mingles with the tormented people of Germany and France, caught in a whirlpool of tragedy, sacrificed by ambitious or impotent politicians, driven inexorably to the verge of the present cataclysm.

Fischer is much more at home in embassies (Ambassador Bullitt calls him by his first name), diplomatic receptions, League of Nations palavers and among his friends the foreign correspondents, to whom he feels he belongs. He passes in and out of these meeting places, making no bones about his dissatisfaction

* *Men and Politics*, by Louis Fischer, Duell, New York City, \$3.50.

with the development of events as he interviews prominent politicians. Sometimes one gains the impression that it is the men in politics who are interviewing Louis Fischer, instead of vice versa. And Fischer is definitely irritated by the stupidity of the men in power. He duly chastises the appeasers, but does not classify them as Fascists. They are merely stupid. They do not know what he, Fischer, knows. "Appeasement was never a matter of weak arm but of a weak brain," he exclaims dramatically when he records the Nazi reoccupation of the Rhineland. That appeasement was the last refuge of a reactionary capitalism quaking in its boots Fischer does not notice.

Fischer's experiences in Spain, where he served as quartermaster in the International Brigade and as a newspaper correspondent, are perhaps the best part of his book. His blood pressure actually rises. He almost gives up his tennis. He visualizes himself as a Byron impassioned for the freedom of a people that is his without being his. Not that Fischer's writing on Spain ever becomes lyrical or poetical. He rarely notices a landscape. He never looks at the skies except for planes. His is a bookkeeper's mind that enumerates and records. He tells us the exact number of days of this or that

battle's duration; he notes the exact age of this or that military personage, he is well informed on the exact amount of money in the Negrin treasury and keeps accurate tab on the shipments of arms from the Soviet Union.

It is all very conscientious reporting. His impressions of the French Communist Marty tally exactly with Hemingway's description of him in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. His notes on the siege of Alcazar are minutely kept, and are filled with many unnecessary and unrevealing data. In vain, however, does he look for heroism among the Loyalist soldiers at the front. "I looked for this (reported) heroism at Toledo and other fronts, but I never found it. I asked several correspondents whether they had seen any heroism. They hadn't. I asked Spaniards. They said they hadn't."

Yet Fischer feels inspired. He writes a long memorandum to Prime Minister Largo Caballero in which he candidly criticizes what he considers vital defects in his leadership. He ends his epistle to Caballero with the words: "I want you to win. I would help you to win. I think it is possible to win." Caballero receives Fischer, discusses his letter with him, shakes him by the hand and tells him: "I know you are a friend."

And Fischer feels deeply moved. When the incident became known among the Loyalists, Fischer says, it gave him "a unique position in Spain thereafter. I had so to speak been adopted by the Loyalists and they trusted me."

In this chapter of his autobiography Fischer feels exalted now and then. He is helping to make history. And when the republic finally falls he acknowledges that the Spanish people rose to "great heights in the great struggle." But he touches upon the betrayal of the Catholic Church and the Vatican's sellout to Franco in most diplomatic language, and only while on a visit to America.

Louis Fischer on the Soviet Union: That was supposed to be the essential point of this book. Nobody expected anything startling or profound from Fischer on France, England, Germany or even Spain. But on Russia—that was different. The Soviets were his field. He had spent fourteen years there, with minor interruptions. Writing for *The Nation* when and what he pleased, he was never hurried or worried by deadlines or scoop competitors. Leisure and opportunities were his to study at first hand the first modern Marxist revolution at work. He had had unique facilities for penetrating behind façades, to

live with the humble anonymous people instead of merely looking at them, to delve deeply where others had but scratched the surface. I, for one, expected much from Louis Fischer on Russia. It seemed to me that he had far from exhausted himself in his rather shallow journalistic contributions to *The Nation*. After all this incubation he would now have something significant to say about the moral, social, economic, political and human aspects of a reborn continent.

What *Men and Politics* brings forth on the Soviet Union is so pitiful that one reads on hoping against hope for a final revelatory word. It does not come.

His first impression of Lenin's Russia is that "they were killing rats in the corridors of the Savoy Hotel." It is typical of his whole Russian chapter; throughout the book, indeed, Fischer gallantly endeavors to be gossipy and breezy and make the grade for the editorial formula of *The New Yorker*. But there is a woeful lack of thinking-out on what has been and is going on in Russia. His portrayal of Lenin is academic and pedestrian. His interpretation of the Stalin-Trotsky feud is the most obvious one—jealousy, difference of temperament, difference of "speed

and timing rather than theoretical chasm."

While in Russia Louis Fischer devoted much time to the writing of his two-volume work *The Soviets in World Affairs*. He interviewed Soviet commissars, he took dictation from Chicherin for days, he checked and rechecked, and finally felt that he had succeeded in presenting the Soviet case in foreign affairs as seen by the makers of Soviet policy. This phase of Fischer's work in Russia, in which he made a successful attempt to understand and record the foreign policy of the Soviets, is perhaps his one important contribution.

The author of *Men and Politics* tackles the Moscow trials and confessions in rather disjointed fashion. He comes to the "startling" conclusion that the confessions were forced as the result of Stalin's slow-motion destruction of the morale of his victims long before they entered their prison cells. "No ordinary third degree would have produced the confessions. It was a third degree that lasted for years, a third degree to which the entire country was and is today submitted." Thus Louis Fischer explains the confessions during the Moscow trials. He had been in Russia for years. As a matter of fact, during all this long "third

degree." Curious that it revealed itself to him only now.

Men and Politics is a saddening book, not because it deals with a disintegrating world but because of the inner emptiness of the author. I have no quarrel with Fischer because he changed his views on Russia. I feel no inclination to call him a turncoat or traitor, as his publishers predicted many would do. Louis Fischer is free to join the Lyonses and Don Levines and Valtins if he honestly believes that now he sees the light. But his book is a tragic commentary on our intelligentsia.

Twenty years ago an intelligent Philadelphian set out to see the world for himself. For close on two decades he lived in and supposedly studied the Russian revolution. Free, unattached, without responsibilities, he roamed throughout Europe, always coming back to Russia as to his home. And after all this life in the most interesting era and spot of modern history he wrote an autobiography. But in vain do we seek signs of any real effort to understand our age or to shake off set formulas. He came, looked much, saw little and returned impressed with the grandeur of his adventure. Here indeed was an intellectual mission that failed.

CATHOLICS CAN BE PROGRESSIVE

By PHIL E. CORBIN

IT IS, of course, impossible to estimate the extent to which Catholics are opposed to the intransigently reactionary stand taken in many political matters by certain dominant sections of the hierarchy of their church. That such opposition exists cannot be denied and many of those who have worked for liberal causes within the Catholic community contend that the extent of this opposition is far more widespread than many Americans, both Catholic and non-Catholic, realize.

As a Catholic who has long been interested in progressive political action, the writer has had many opportunities to observe signs of this opposition. Neither he nor his colleagues at the time were at all surprised when it was revealed that approximately 58% of the Catholics in America favored the Loyalist side during the Spanish Civil War. Nor was it surprising to those who knew the true temper of the Catholic people that the attacks made on the

New Deal by a number of clerics should have proven futile.

These were but two of the exceedingly rare occasions when the Catholic people were actually given the opportunity to express their opposition, as Catholics, to what is generally referred to as political Catholicism. Ordinarily Catholics, especially the laity, are not given these opportunities.

Short of launching an anti-clerical movement—a step they would take only in utter desperation — progressive Catholics

can express their opposition to clerical reaction virtually only through non-sectarian organizations and publications. With the exception of a single magazine, *Commonweal*, there is no organ in this country which can be considered even a remote expression of Catholic lay opinion. All other publications are controlled with varying degrees of strictness by the clergy, and Catholic clergymen have ever been reluctant to commit criticism of their col-

Many Catholics were moved to support the Loyalists during the Spanish Civil War and to condemn the Dolfuss regime in Austria at the time of the slaughter of the Vienna workers, largely as a result of non-Catholic appraisals of these events.

leagues to the permanence of printers' ink. As for organizations through which opposition might make itself heard, these exist in theory but they rarely exist in practice.

This lack of an opposition voice, so to speak, has undoubtedly given rise to the all too prevalent assumption that reactionaries in the Catholic community are virtually unopposed. Concomitantly, it has done much to foster the belief that Catholics regard any criticism of the hierarchy as being anti-Catholic, de facto, particularly when such criticism emanates from an outside source.

Neither of these assumptions is true. To begin with, opposition does exist within the Catholic community and it does make itself felt. At the same time, progressive Catholics recognize the fact that outside criticism frequently has a salutary effect on their coreligionists. For instance, it cannot be denied that many Catholics were moved to support the Loylists during the Spanish Civil War and to condemn the Dolfuss regime in Austria at the time of the slaughter of the Vienna workers, largely as a result of non-Catholic appraisals of these events.

To be sure, the net result of the opposition in both instances was practically nil. It is doubtful that it

deterred the reactionaries in the hierarchy in any way. Yet, it must be admitted that having twice witnessed the spectacle of their clergy being solidly aligned on the side of what unbiased and, above all, intelligently humane opinion throughout the world characterized as bloodthirsty reaction, many progressive Catholics found a way to express their opinions when the occasion arose.

Following the Spanish Civil War the next occasion for widespread disagreement with an important hierarchical trend came with the rise of Coughlinism. The liberals of America are familiar with the part the Committee of Catholics played in channelizing this disaffection. They also recognize the effectiveness of the work done by this Committee.

Yet, there are exceedingly few people who know of the purely spontaneous methods individual Catholics used to express their distaste for Coughlinism. One of the most drastic means used to combat this trend was to refuse to contribute to the support of a parish where Coughlinism was encouraged. It is generally conceded that this method was used only after all other methods failed either to prevent the sale of *Social Justice* at the church door or

to discourage the applauding of Father Coughlin from the pulpit.

The extent to which this method was used can hardly be estimated. It is sufficient to know that more than one pastor, having ignored a plea that the growth of Coughlinism be discouraged in his parish, found in an envelope distributed to hold a special contribution a note telling him that a parishioner felt compelled to refuse to support a parish wherein teachings contrary to the doctrines of Christ and the dicta of the Papacy were being promulgated. It can be imagined that it was an extremely wealthy or an extremely hard-headed pastor who ignored such notes when they came in batches.

Another spontaneous method used in the early days of the anti-Coughlin movement was the denouncing of *Social Justice* vendors as they peddled their wares outside of churches. These denunciations were usually planned by two or more Catholics to avoid the possibility of a scandal-making altercation and to insure the maximum effect.

One of the most effective of these denunciations was delivered by Peadar O'Donnell, famed both as a novelist and as a fighter for the freedom of Ireland. On the occasion of a visit to this country a few years

back, O'Donnell was shocked to learn that *Social Justice* was being sold after Mass on Sundays at many church doors. He knew how blind prejudice could divide a people at the very instant when their unity was of the utmost importance and he was aghast that his coreligionists in America should toy with the same uncontrollable fire that had been used against them so frequently both in America and in Ireland.

When he went to Mass on the Sunday following his arrival, O'Donnell planned his exit from the church carefully. He made certain he would arrive on the street when a good proportion of the congregation would be within earshot of the *Social Justice* vendor. He then strode up to the man and with a show of the same passion and fire that had aroused the people of Donegal to rise against the hated Black and Tans, he excoriated the vendor, the magazine and the priest who edited the magazine.

Now, O'Donnell is a slight man and hardly above medium stature. The *Social Justice* vendor was considerably bigger and, as is the rule with such people, not at all adverse to using his fists instead of reason. However, he apparently realized instinctively that O'Donnell's fury could not be stemmed by the blows

of one man. He looked about for sympathizers who would help him silence the Irishman before the crowd that was rapidly gathering really knew what was afoot.

In the crowd that was coming out of the church were a number of men who knew O'Donnell. At least one of them had fought under him during that dreadful period of Ireland's history to which the Irish refer with such amazing understatement as "the trouble." As the result no one dared lay a hand on O'Donnell and the congregation listened to him with respect. The *Social Justice* vendor disappeared at the first possible opportunity. Neither he nor his fellow travelers ever returned to that church and whenever O'Donnell appeared at another church to hear Mass the sale of *Social Justice* ceased abruptly.

While the story of O'Donnell's protest stands out largely because of the frequency with which it was repeated, there can be no doubt but that other equally effective protests were made in much the same fashion. However, even more important than the protests themselves is the fact that for the first time in several generations Catholics in America were coming to the realization that they had the right to call their

clergymen to account for any political action they might undertake.

To the paucity of the means they have for demanding such an accounting there must be added the fact that Catholics are extremely unwilling to create anything like a scandal within their Church. For this reason they are inclined to lean over backwards in their efforts to be both circumspect and tactful in opposing the clergy on any given question.

There are times when they may seem to express their opposition to uncalled for clericalism in a manner that borders on indifference. Yet, even in these instances, they manage to give their opinion a kind of quiet bite and sting. For instance, not long ago a group of longshoremen in New York were engaged in a struggle with the leadership of their union. The younger men leading the fight were zealous and tireless workers and, as a result, they made sufficient progress to thoroughly alarm the entrenched officials.

In the middle of this fight, in spite of his age, was an Irishman who had for years worked on the docks. He was known and loved by virtually all his co-workers not only for his integrity but also for his quiet humor.

Certain of the union officials came

to the conclusion that if they could win over this man, they would score a decisive blow against their opponents. They set out to do this by descending on the Irishman while he was resting on a pier at lunchtime one day. They brought argument after argument to bear on him but they could not budge him from his position. Finally, in desperation they pointed out that a neighborhood priest had expressed the opinion that a number of the insurgent leaders were Reds.

This moved the Irishman not at all.

"The good Father is a fine man," the Irishman replied quietly. "I'm sure he knows all there is to be known about saying a Mass and preaching a sermon that'll throw the fear of God into a man. But in all my born days I never did see a priest loading a ship or trying to run a union."

These calm words reported back to the Catholics in the union local by the men who had been listening, destroyed the basis for clerical interference in union affairs.

Equally discreet was the action taken by several Catholic school teachers recently when one of their number was denounced from the pulpit of a Brooklyn church for "recommending" to a high school

student reading matter which the priest felt was likely to both damage the girl's morals and lessen her respect for the Catholic Church.

The denunciation of the teacher arose out of the fact that while instructing an English class in the fundamentals of journalism, the teacher gave the students a list of books approved by the Board of Education for supplementary reading. Among the books on this list were Vincent Sheean's *Personal History* and the Ben Hecht-Charles MacArthur play *The Front Page*.

It is conceivable that some Catholic parents would prefer not to have their children read either of these books. Sheean, a Catholic, is noted for his support of the Spanish Loyalists and his comments on the clergymen who supported Franco earned him the reputation of being a priest-baiter. The final line of the Hecht-MacArthur play is famed for the single bit of stinging profanity it contains.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the Board of Education, and not the teacher under fire recommended the books. It is reasonable to assume that the members of the Board felt that such objections to these books as might possibly exist were either extremely minor or invalid, and in no way damaged their value as books

from which a student might learn considerable of the workings of modern journalism. Furthermore, no child was compelled to read a single line of either books. There were many other books on the list.

If less cloistered minds were able to minimize the objections to these books, such a thing was not possible for the pastor of a church which one of the students

who received the list attended. Presumably, the youngster submitted the list to her pastor for his evaluation and the pastor, indignant at finding the Sheean book and the Hecht-Mac-

Arthur play were considered suitable reading for high school children, decided to take action.

The following Sunday at high Mass, the pastor announced to his congregation that the school children of the city were being given books to read which were damaging to their faith and morals. He asked his parishioners to accept the fact that the two books were included on the list as evidence that our public school system is an iniquitous sink of radicalism and he

attacked by name the teacher who "suggested" that such books be read.

This attack stunned not only the teacher in question but her Catholic colleagues as well. For some time, certain that there had been a misunderstanding, they refused to believe the priest acted as he did. They were, in fact, incapable of believing a priest of their faith could act in

such an outrageous fashion.

It was not long before they had irrefutable evidence that, in spite of what they thought, the priest had done at least as much as had been reported.

Further-

more, there were rumors that he would return to the attack on the following Sunday.

Thoroughly angry the teachers dispatched a protest to the priest demanding an apology for the injured teacher and the cessation of the attacks. The attacks were not renewed and while no apology was forthcoming the refusal to do what seemed by all imaginable standards to be the just and honest thing, in no way increased the prestige of the Catholic clergy in the minds of these

Having twice witnessed the spectacle of their clergy being solidly aligned on the side of what unbiased and, above all, intelligently humane opinion throughout the world characterized as blood-thirsty reaction, many progressive Catholics found a way to express their opinions when the occasion arose.

teachers, particularly since they realized that by taking advantage of his position the offending priest could remain almost completely impervious to their demands for an apology. There was, however, some satisfaction in the outcome, for the more

progressive teachers in the school, inasmuch as they had halted an attack on their profession and in so doing had proved that even a priest can be forced to cease irresponsible attacks on established American principles.

CHURCHMEN ATTACK COUDERT

"The basic test of a teacher's professional ability and integrity lies within the school. There the teacher must not be an advocate and propagandist. If he is charged with incompetence or with abuse of his position in the classroom for illegal or propagandist activity, that charge must be proved by recognized legal procedure and the burden rests upon the accuser."

"As a responsible citizen, on the other hand, the teacher shares the rights and prerogatives of all citizens of the United States guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and is equally subject to the laws of the land. The point to be emphasized is that the issue is rights, not beliefs. Punitive action, because of personal beliefs or legal political activity is inconsistent with the very principles of democracy."

Two hundred leading Protestant churchmen have thus attacked the Rapp-Coudert investigation into so-called "subversive" activities in New York schools and colleges. Already Governor Herbert L. Lehman has found it advisable, because of public reaction, to curtail funds for the Rapp-Coudert Committee's investigation which was exposed as a "concerted clerical-finance-fascist attack on the public school" in the last issue of the Protestant Digest.

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THE AMERICAN INHERITANCE OF THE HIGHER LAW

By CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN

—" . . . our rights have
emanated from the governor of the universe."

THE principal church-state relationships have been ecclesiastical totalitarianism, or a single, indivisible Christian society with the church in control and its political power direct; political totalitarianism, or a single indivisible Christian society with the state in control and its ecclesiastical power direct; a single Christian society with the state aiding the church but not interfering in spirituals; two perfect distinct but not separated societies with the church's power indirect in temporal; the church existing as a corporation within the state, or separation of church and state.

This last type is American. The American interpretation derives from the Graeco-Roman-Judaean-Christian philosophy of life of medieval times and the social compact theory of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Graeco-Roman philosophy of life came to this. Divine reason pervaded the entire cosmos giving it unity, dependability and continuity. Because man possesses divine reason, humanity is one, the human

personality is autonomous, cultivates self-realization and most assuredly is ever moving onward and upward as the centuries come and go. The objective of divine reason has consistently been the attainment of complete liberty, equality, and fraternity by the human race. But the inherited passions of man have always interfered with his progress and made history a terrible example of the selfishness of man. Instead of peace and prosperity, war and depressions have been the lot of man. To reduce this disintegration, nature was compelled to impose particular corrective checks upon mankind which men call law, authority, and property, organized and administered by the over-shadowing state. Constituted government exists to save man from himself, to restrain lawless force, and promote the common good and tranquillity.

In his *De Civitate Dei*, Augustine reconstructed the history of the world from the point of view of the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God was now traced back to Abel, continued in Israel, preserved by the

church. *History ceased to have to do with peoples and nations and became a history of ideas.* It ceased to be factual and became mythological. The history of Israel did not concern Israel which had fashioned that history but an institution, the Christian church, which had nothing to do with it.

By the thirteenth century, Christianity possessed a rather precise philosophy of history to the effect that God was governing the world through eternal divine law. Some of this divine law had been revealed. It could be found in the Bible, the written word of God, and also in the tradition of the church, the unwritten word of God. The remainder of the divine law could be discerned in the structure of the cosmos and the nature of man. In addition to all this law were the positive enactments of the particular states and all the rules, regulations, and statutes which men had devised in the interest of their collective security.

The medieval triangle had God at the top with nature and reason derived from God at the ends—all three synthesized in a very symmetrical and unified pattern.

The millennium between Pope Leo I and Martin Luther was the age of the transcendent holy during which the sinful state was purified by ecclesiastical consecration. There was one divine society with two functions: spiritual and therefore eternal, and temporal and therefore transitory.

This higher law ideology was transmitted to the founding fathers of the United States. "... our rights have emanated from the governor of the universe. They do not rest upon a bill of rights or charters granted by an individual to appease an irritated multitude." "Should an act of parliament be against any of his natural laws which are immutably true, their declaration would be contrary to eternal truth, equity and justice and consequently void."

The Biblical passages on church and state, especially Romans 13: 1-7; Augustine, "The City of God"; Calvin, "Institutes of the Christian Religion," Book IV, Chapter 20; "The Westminster Confession of Faith," chapters 20ff.; John Locke, "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" and "Essays on Toleration"; "Declaration of Independence"; Dunning, W. A., "A History of Political Theories," I-III, 1902-20; Curtis, Lionel, "Civitas Dei," I-III, 1934-1937; Hobhouse, L. T., "Metaphysical Theory of the State," 1918; Haines, C. G., "Revival of Natural Law Concepts," 1930; Zimmer, Alfred, "Modern Political Doctrines," London, 1939.

SPAIN AND THE CRISIS OF MAN

By DAVID LORD

—*Out of the red blood-guilt of Spain has come
the red blood-bath of the present war.*

HUMANITY has been trying for a long time now to find a way of life that would take the place of the old feudalism. All the history of the last five hundred years is explained by this movement of man toward democracy, and the so-called western world finds its meaning only in terms of the common struggle for freedom.

A democratic yeast in a sea of ancient absolutism—such has been the historical essence of the Christianity which gave rise to the western world. Though perverted to anti-democratic uses by the upper strata of society in every age, the Christian idea is in itself revolutionary, and the destiny of western man has been always to seek the achievement of Christian or libertarian ideals.

Hitlerian fascism strikes with

daemonic accuracy at the root problem of western history when it sets itself up as the enemy of the Christian idea. Though for the time being it will be satisfied with a movement backward to the status of pre-Reformation Europe,

The present crisis finds all of man's hope and all of the dream of man pitted against the whole dark heritage of sin and blood of the human race. It was in such an hour of crisis that Christ revealed to the ancient pagan world a thing that could not be destroyed by the daemonic powers of life. Today, in similar fashion, Spain, the Christ-nation, proves to the modern world that man has not given up the fight for a better life.

it will not, and cannot, forget that its real foe is the Gospel message which gave the sense of individuality to the slaves and serfs of the ancient world. Since the aim of fascism is the restoration of that ancient world, it must seek to up-

root the Christian idea altogether, and the destruction of European democracy, which dates from the French Revolution and the Protestant Reformation, is merely a preliminary in that direction.

Daemonic fascism strikes a pact with daemonic clericalism in an endeavor to bring about the destruc-

tion of democracy. Catholic clericalism, which seeks a return to the anti-democratic feudalism of the middle ages without destroying the formal framework of religion, does not recognize the true nature of its ally. But events beyond the power of the clergy force it into this alliance with its most dangerous foe.

Catholicism is the religion of feudalism, and the last five centuries of European history seem to prove that it can never be anything else. If Europe evolves into a genuine democracy, the Catholic Church will disappear in a new Reformation, but if fascism succeeds in implanting a new feudal system on Europe, then Catholicism will hang on as a much-hated but influential adjunct of the government in several of the European states.

This does not mean that the Christian idea would derive support from Catholicism under a new feudal system in Europe. As a matter of fact, the function of Catholicism in the new arrangement would be to strangle the Christian or democratic idea as it attempted to do in northern Europe during the Reformation, and as it has just done in Spain.

Christianity develops logically into socialism, and this is the form it has taken in the modern world. The Catholic hierarchy, already aware

of this fact and opposed to socialism in any form, becomes definitely anti-Christian in an effort to stem the tide of human evolution.

In order to understand the forces that ride the modern world, we must never lost sight of the fact that the anti-Christian front is composed largely of the representatives of official religion, just as the anti-labor front finds its most loyal partisans among the leaders of organized labor. In times of crisis like the present the moral obliquity of man is manifested all along the line. It is in such times that the leaders of mankind—the great religious leaders, the statesmen, and the others—show themselves as simple rogues and cheats, men who care more about maintaining their own property and position than the civilization they claim to love.

For man has signally failed thus far to develop into a moral being. All past civilizations have failed because man in the mass never has possessed enough morality to make them work. No system of society can endure when it is based on injustice and falsehood, and since all of man's civilizations have been instruments of organized repression, they have all had the same disastrous ending.

While man's history reveals his continuing failure to observe a code

of morality superior to brute force, it also shows his professed observance of such a code. In other words, man's history shows him to be a shameless hypocrite, and the external trappings of every civilization have been nothing but the masks of this hypocrisy. Thus, in the present age, Catholicism has become the mask of anti-Christianity, and democratic government the mask of anti-democracy, and Christian civilization the mask of starvation and murder and organized repression.

No needless cynicism, no desire to startle and shock, lies back of these words. These statements are made because the action of Christian Europe in the question of the Spanish civil war has shown us quite clearly the real nature of the world in which we live.

If today the world looks with indifference upon the bombing of women and children in France and England, it is because yesterday the world was taught by the religious and political leaders of democratic Europe that the bombing of women and children in Spain was a necessary act of civilization. If today the world looks with indifference upon the prospect of mass starvation in Europe, it is because it remembers the mass starvation imposed on Spain by the leaders of the Christian

world. And if today the people of the world regard with indifference the destruction of European civilization, it is because they have already seen the destruction of other civilizations by Christian Europe. They have seen the destruction and enslavement of Spain by the hired vandals of fascism, and they have become convinced—this is a historical fact which explains among other things the failure of the French people to defend their country—of the collaboration between the leaders of Christian, democratic Europe and the leaders of anti-democratic, anti-Christian fascist Europe.

The Spanish crisis was crucial, final. To a greater extent than anyone then knew it marked the boundary between two worlds—the dead world of old Christian, western man, and the new world of the future.

What is this world of the future to be? Is it to be a return to the world of the Caesars, a world in which man has lost every trace of his individuality and freedom and has become a serf again, a serf far more degraded than the slaves of the past? Or is it to be a democratic world, a Christian world, a world founded on the ruins of fascism and its corrupt democratic fore-runners?

If man is driven back into serf-

dom at his present state of development, the fact might well mark the beginning of his final end. If, with all the things he has striven for throughout history within easy reach at last, man fails to achieve them through insufficient intelligence or insufficient morality, then he will not have deserved to evolve into a higher species, and his descent into oblivion will be a fitting end for a creature as cruel, as vicious and as cowardly as he. If man acquires the truth only to use it as a mask for his low bestial cunning, as it was used by the Catholic Church and the democratic world during the Spanish civil war; if he masters the secrets of nature only to use this knowledge in enforcing a rule of bloody terror and starvation upon the poor and humble; if the only type of government he can evolve is one in which millions starve in the midst of plenty and in which a heavy premium is placed on the possession of greed and selfishness and a heavy penalty exacted for the possession of the so-called Christian or human virtues (as was exacted from Spain during recent years), then it is proper and fitting that the experiment of man should come to an end, that the planet should return unashamedly to the conditions of

animal life that it knew before the advent of the human species.

It is for this reason that we can speak of a crisis of man. Man came from the animal world, and the civilization of man, as we have shown, has always remained, in effect, a part of the animal world. But some isolated examples of man, and some isolated periods of human history (Christ, the Spanish civil war) have seemed to prove that man, though animal in origin, has within his power the creation and attainment of divinity. The dream of man—and every belief in human progress, in mercy, in justice, in truth, in beauty, in civilization, is part of this dream—has always been based on belief in the divine destiny of man.

With divinity in his grasp, with the dream of man near its fulfillment, is man then to sink back into that ancient bestiality which has neither hope nor dream nor love nor vision of the divine?

What, then, is the world of the future to be? One thing is sure—there will be no easy passage from the present world to a higher order of existence. A civilization which could perpetrate the crime of Spain has a long way to go before it can begin to justify the presence of man on the earth.

Though the Spanish civil war did show the beginnings, the very faint first beginnings, of a universal conscience (the foreign volunteers, the defenders of Spain in every land), it also revealed, nakedly, glaringly, the utter falseness, the depravity, the low, selfish, bestial cunning of practically every aspect of so-called Christian civilization. A civilization capable of the crime of Spain is capable of all crimes. The Spanish civil war is a mirror which shows to man the actual value of all his beliefs, virtues and values, religious or otherwise. Like a blinding light in the midst of a great darkness it brings into stark relief the cruel deeds hiding behind man's words of kindness, the lies that lurk behind his professed admiration for the truth, the torch, the knife and the bloody vandal's hands cloaked in the robes of Christ.

It is just as well that man should see himself as he is. It is just as well that naked animal brutality should take the place of hypocrisy and guile, that for a spell at least men should be murdered in the name of God, children starved in the name of cruelty rather than the name of Christian need, countries laid waste in the name of plunder and rapine

rather than the name of Christian civilization.

Out of the red blood-guilt of Spain has come the red blood-bath of the present war. The dead of the present go to join the dead of the past, and the proud harlot's civilization of Europe is brought low upon the rank graves of the dead.

The tragedy of Spain is the tragedy of all mankind. If humanity cannot establish a civilization based on truth and mercy, then it is doomed. If the dream of man is to end always in a repetition of the Spanish nightmare, then it is better that he left off dreaming. And if his hopes for a better world are to bring always nothing but dust and ashes, then it is better that he left off hoping as well.

The present crisis finds all of man's hope and all of the dream of man pitted against the whole dark heritage of sin and blood of the human race. It was in such an hour of crisis that Christ revealed to the ancient pagan world a thing that could not be destroyed by the daemonic powers of life. Today, in similar fashion, Spain, the Christ-nation, proves to the modern world that man has not given up the fight for a better life, that he has not relinquished his faith in the divine destiny of his kind.

WHERE LIES THE HOPE OF DEMOCRACY?

Editorial by H. N. WIEMAN

We have come to the place where democracy must have a formulated faith and a philosophy more clear and deeply founded than it has had in the past. The sprawling, amorphous, relatively unreligious and unphilosophical democracy of the past can no longer survive. It must mature or disintegrate. The faith required cannot be a faith in democracy but it must be for democracy. It must uphold democracy. It cannot depend upon democracy to uphold it.

The first step in developing such a faith and such a philosophy is a survey of the several alleged bases of hope upon which the spirit of man has claimed to find its stay in upholding this way of life. These bases or sources of hope may be divided into those of liberalism and those of authoritarianism.

Liberalism means many different things but as we are treating it here we shall understand the policy which strives to liberate the individual without specifying what he is to be liberated for, providing only that he does not obstruct the liberties of others. It is based upon the conviction that if individuals are thus released from restraint and equipped to utilize their powers and fulfil their interests, progress will ensue. There is some truth in this but it is not sufficiently developed. Individuals must be released but they must be released in such a way that growth of qualitative meaning will dominate their lives and command their ruling devotion. Liberalism as it has prevailed to date has not come this far. It has been the policy in politics and education, in love and home-life, in business and industry, in art and religion, to open all the gates and let the individual find for himself what is best. We claim that henceforth democracy must have a philosophy and a faith which guides and directs the development of the individual and that he should be released to this end only. Likewise all the agencies of society must be bent to this end. But let us first examine the proposals of traditional liberalism which we here hold to be inadequate.

Many liberals claim that the chief means and agent for this un-directed release of the individual is education. If only we extend the reach

and power and tempo of education we can save and magnify democracy, they say. Let us educate for character as well as in other ways and we shall meet the challenge of the hour.

We agree that education liberates. But when it liberates conflicting and irreconcilable interests without equipping the individuals concerned with a kind of personal commitment enabling them to deal with such conflicts creatively, it takes away whatever direction and unity our collective life might otherwise have assumed. It weakens instead of strengthening; it dissipates our interest and energy over a wide field without depth in any and without coherence. Education today is not directive, however liberating it may be. Under the control of some agencies and teachers it carefully refrains from making any positive suggestion concerning the supreme ends of life and the ways into which human striving should be turned. When it does endeavor to give shape and direction to the main current of the strivings of life we find different teachers and agencies working against one another. Thus they magnify the mutual frustration, the blocking and confusion.

The objectives of education, when it recognizes any objective other than vacuous liberation, are not in general based upon any attempt to reach a decision about ultimate ends and issues. Any question about the supreme and ultimate good of life has been waved airily aside as being irrelevant to the practical problems of educating the youth. Our job, say most of the educators, is to train them to do certain specific things, to master specific bits of knowledge, according as their personal interest or the more pressing problems of society may indicate. But the general nature of human good as an end to be served after first having brought to light its source and goal by earnest, objective, rational inquiry, is scarcely within the bounds of any practical consideration by education and the educators. As long as this state of affairs continues, it is puerile to refer to education as a solution of our problem.

Education cannot shape the will of the people nor give any direction whatsoever as long as the educators ride off in every direction like the mythical knight, as they are doing now. Education not only fails to support anything in particular, including democracy. It augments the confusion

and magnifies the diversities and conflicts. Today it either shapes the will of different groups in ways that are utterly incompatible or else it does not shape the will at all. In either case the consequences are pernicious.

Some liberals appeal to religion along with education and some set it above education, as the source or agency which will give us the kind of life we want and which will uphold democracy if we can spread and deepen it sufficiently. But all that we have said about education applies also to religion. Religion is commitment to what one holds to be supremely important for all human living. But the whole question at issue is precisely what is most important for all human living. As long as that question is left unanswered by way of any rational and empirical inquiry which can make the answer persuasive, religion cannot help us. As long as that question is answered by the accident of personal faith, or by the chance fragment of tradition that has reached the individual, or is left to the arbitrary authority of some church, religion will continue to be one of the chief magnifiers of those conditions which make it increasingly difficult for a numerous, high-powered and complex society to exist at all without a dictator. Religion as it operates today, instead of being a support to democracy, is one of its chief foes, however unintentionally on the part of many religious people.

It was the dominance of a great tradition which in the past made it possible for education and religion to promote the good of human living without rational and empirical grounding. All they had to do was to transit the richest and best of this tradition. They could serve the will of the people because they served the same hidden master which shaped that collective will, namely the tradition. But without that master ruling with the power he once had, and with his subjects equipped with mighty instrumentalities they never had before, there is no will of the people to serve. There is only an aggregation of diverse wills. Without a master, education and religion become like live wires flinging about. At any moment they may fall into the hands of a dictator or strike us dead with some wild fanaticism or fatal illusion.

Some liberals uphold a third source of human good as more important than any other. They may or may not combine it with education and

religion. This third proposal is that the unlimited production of wealth under free initiative and private enterprise will save democracy and promote our welfare. Let conditions of competition be equalized. Let all restraints be removed which hinder the free flow of supply and demand in respect to commodities, labor, prices, wages and costs. This will give us the goods we need and the democracy we want.

In contradistinction to this view we hold that maximum release of economic production whether by private initiative and free enterprise or in any other way will not in itself alone solve our social problems even though it would remove an obstacle to their solution. Wealth to the maximum is another form of liberation but it does not give any direction to the liberated individual. It is the same old difficulty we have noted all along with traditional liberalism. Wealth equips and empowers the individual to go in any direction he likes and this is fatal under present conditions unless we bring this liberated individual under a ruling devotion to what is in truth the creative source of human good.

Science is another savior and liberator and the creative source of all progress, according to some. There have been not a few who have declared that in science we have something that comes nearer to being the fountain-head of human welfare than education or religion or production of wealth. All these depend upon science for whatever virtue is in them. When they depart from science they become pernicious if not self-destructive. When they follow and serve science they serve the good of the race.

The same point made against the other claims of liberalism apply to this. Science is a liberator. It equips us to do what we want to do, but it gives no guidance concerning what is supremely worthful. To be sure, rational and empirical inquiry might be applied to the problem of human good, its source and goal. That is our main plea. But the natural sciences simply do not concern themselves with that problem and are not equipped to do so. As long as this situation prevails, the appeal to science is an illusion. Until science is brought into the service of the source and goal of human good, it continues to be one of those mighty instrumentalities which may be as destructive and evil as it may be constructive and good. At present accident chiefly determines in any situation which of these it will be.

We now turn to the authoritarian attempts to point out the source

and goal of human living. Here again we have four views which may be combined in various ways.

The first of these looks to patriotism as the guide and master which must give us the unity and direction which we need. Andre Maurois formulates this position in an article in *Harper's Magazine*, February, 1941, called *A House Divided Against Itself*. He quotes an English lecturer on the nature of parliamentary government and later repeats the quotation as being of primary importance. The quotation is: "A parliamentary democracy is a state in which the minority, after an election, agrees, for a fixed period of time, to be governed by the majority, and during this period, to collaborate with the leaders of the majority in all that is essential to the national existence. *Naturally this attitude is possible only when the minority is sure of being protected by certain fundamental principles, which the majority also believes in.*" (Italics our own.) Maurois intimates that the fundamental principle may be love of country.

France succumbed so swiftly before the invader, says Maurois, because the party of the right and the party of the left, respectively, were actuated by other interests stronger than their devotion to the preservation of parliamentary democratic France. The party of the left insisted that there must be a basic redistribution of economic power before human life could be carried on in a worthy form. They insisted that if the agencies which controlled the political order of France would not permit this economic reconstruction, the political order must go down. The party of the right in opposition to all this, held that if the government should come under the control of those who would use it to achieve this basic economic transformation, they must be blocked even though that might be destructive of parliamentary procedures and democracy generally.

Here we have two divisive and conflicting interests, both of them stronger than devotion to the state as then existing. The state, precious though it might be, and indispensable in some form, must nevertheless be made subordinate to the fulfilment of these demands, said they. It is plain that no nation can stand against the powerful thrusts of an enemy or against any strongly disruptive force when so divided. However, the lesson which Maurois draws from all this is, we think, quite mistaken. He says that what

we need to do is to reestablish over the lives of men the sovereignty of their allegiance to their country as a political whole.

We believe that this teaching of Maurois is utterly futile, regardless of how desirable or commendable it might be. This division between conflicting interests cannot be healed by exhorting men to unite in common devotion to the country unless that country will serve interests which they hold to be more than the preservation of the state in the established form of its existence. Maurois thinks that this unifying national sentiment will come to prevail again because the fall of France has shown that both parties must lose what they seek if the country is not defended. But this is not necessarily true. It may well be that France in defeat will better serve the interests of certain powerful groups than she would if the opposing political party had taken from these groups their wealth and privileges. Patriotism under conditions now prevailing cannot be made strong enough to provide the guidance and the unity which will permit diverse and conflicting groups to work together in a democracy.

There is still another interpretation of the source of human good and the hope of democracy. It is the view that technology holds this place. Let the engineers and other experts take control and let the unifying purpose of all be to learn how to operate the instrumentalities of civilization. Let this kind of ability be as widely distributed among the people as we can make it and inculcate this as the basic actuating interest of all. Put technology into the hands of the people, take it away from the control of special vested interests, let the people operate it, and the conditions of human fulfilment will be met. This, we believe, is the theory and intent of communism, however much many who advocate it may abhor communism. It is what is meant by putting the workers into control.

When technology is highly developed we believe that it must be controlled and operated by the people, if we are to have a democracy. But if we stop with this we are likely to produce a dictatorship of the extreme sort seen in Russia. Technology is not the creative source of democracy and human good but an instrument that may be used to serve what is truly the creative source of genuine value and the real basis of democracy. If it is not so used and directed it becomes the path to totalitarianism.

Another theory of the way that leads to highest human ends under

present conditions is that of coercive unity and military might. This is Fascism or Nazism. It does not claim to be democratic except on special occasions and most obviously is not. It does not need critical comment here.

A final proposal to deliver us from our difficulties and put us on the high road to better days is that of neo-scholasticism. It claims to have in its keeping the supreme destiny of man. By putting each individual under the absolute authority of a transcendent God it gives him a dignity and worth which nothing in the world can take away and delivers his soul from domination by any earthly thing. In this way, its upholders claim, it provides for democracy as well as opening the path to the greatest that man can attain.

This is a doctrine which in its highest reaches rests upon authority and cannot be supported by rational and empirical inquiry. It cannot be established, upheld and kept true to its own self without giving supreme control to the hierarchy of the church. In the days when this doctrine was carried by a great tradition which shaped the desires, habits and imagination of all, this might be done without too much coercion. Today it would require coercive control equal to a dictatorship because it is not based in respect to its most important claims upon the findings of free and unlimited inquiry.

After examining all these proposals concerning how to conduct human living we reach a conclusion on what democracy requires. Democracy must be based upon a form of liberalism, but it must be a liberalism that has achieved clarity and conviction on what is the nature of value or human good or welfare. These are all different words for the same thing. It must be an understanding of value, however, which is empirically and rationally founded. This is necessary because democracy rests upon persuasion and the only good to which people can be persuaded is one that is rationally and empirically demonstrable.

The problem of value or human good or welfare has three parts to it. First is the question, What is value? Second, What is the source of value? Third, What is the goal of value? By goal we mean the direction of increase in value or the way in which it must be developed to be more abundant.

(These problems are altogether too enormous to be treated in the final paragraphs of a paper like this but we are going to make a few suggestions.)

We suggest that value is that way of distinguishing and ordering events which renders their quality and meaning humanly appreciable. Two ideas need clarification. One is qualitative meaning, the other is pragmatic meaning. Qualitative meaning includes the intuited experience of sense, imagery and feeling. Qualities are intimate psycho-physical events. Pragmatic meaning is that way of distinguishing and ordering events whereby we achieve prediction and control. Both kinds of meaning involve prediction and control but only qualitative meaning carries intrinsic value.

It is apparent that value is very closely allied to meaning in this understanding of the nature of human good. Yet meaning is not identical with value. Value is one kind of meaning. It is qualitative meaning. Qualitative meaning should be distinguished from pragmatic meaning. Pragmatic meaning seeks only prediction and control. Qualitative meaning seeks prediction and control plus quality.

The only events which are richly qualitative, so far as we know, are those which awaken the conscious response of human minds. Furthermore, we know that one way of ordering events will yield far more of the qualities of sense, imagery and feeling in human response than will others. For example, Mark Twain's way of distinguishing and ordering the events which made up the painting of the fence by Tom Sawyer and his playmates brought out far more quality than a purely pragmatic way of distinguishing and relating them. Pragmatic meaning would have specified merely the quantity of paint required, its required chemical composition, the grain of the wood, the weathering to which it would be exposed, and the like.

The illustration we have just used with Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn as central figures, brings out another characteristic of qualitative meaning. (Qualitative meaning is another term for value in the interpretation we are upholding.) Events can yield abundant quality to human experience only if we select and order them in such a way as to achieve a compounding of perspectives. We must distinguish and order them in such a way that we can be aware of the sense, imagery and feeling that Tom

Sawyer experienced, the qualities that his playmates experienced, the qualities that his aunt and foster mother experienced, that Mark Twain experienced when telling about them. This is the compounding of perspectives. It is the only way in which to achieve an ordering of events which can be progressively enriched with quality. When we distinguish only those events which have to do with paint, expanse of fence, time, labor, weathering and the like, and leave out the psycho-physical events which were the qualities in the experience of Tom and the others, we do thereby leave out the source of all increase in value.

If this be the nature of value or human good we next ask: What is its source? Its source is that kind of interaction between individuals and groups whereby they become most fully aware of the sense, feeling and imagery of one another when dealing with a given order of events. This kind of interaction is a very complicated affair and we cannot go into it now except to label it creative interaction in order to distinguish it from other kinds. It is the sort of interaction in which we interpret to one another our appreciations. It is the compounding of perspectives. It is brought about in great part by conflict of interests when the conflict forces individuals to interpret their appreciations to one another. This is creative conflict as contrasted to destructive conflict.

The third question we raised concerned the goal of human welfare. The goal is unlimited increase in qualitative meaning.

With this interpretation of value before us we can make our statement about the nature of that religion which might sustain, inspire and guide democracy. It is commitment of faith to the source and goal of all human good. The source is creative interaction. The goal is unlimited increase of qualitative meaning. Human good so understood is essentially reciprocal and mutual because it can be had only by way of the compounding of perspectives. The more qualitative meaning the other person has, the more I can have, because increase in qualitative meaning for me can be achieved only by compounding the appreciations of Tom Sawyer, Huck Finn, his aunt and playmates and the others with my own.

When absolute commitment of faith is made to this source and goal of human good we might direct our education, as well as our reli-

gion, our science and our technology to the setting up of conditions that would be most favorable to this kind of interaction which is mutual interpretation of appreciations and compounding perspectives, specially under stress of conflict. The family, government, business and industry, art and recreation might be organized and directed to this end. This, of course, opens up innumerable problems which cannot be considered here. But it is a suggestion concerning the sort of religion and philosophy which might undergird democracy and carry it forward.

The Marquis de Aguiar, representative of the Spanish Catholic and Royalist parties in the United States, said today that Germany now was represented in every Spanish Consulate and Legation in the Americas for the purpose of combating Pan-Americanism. The Nazi penetration in Latin America, he said, was under the name of the Spanish Falangist party, but at the direction of Berlin.

There have been twelve German divisions in Spain since November, ready to act in Morocco when the time is auspicious, he said. Any pact now signed between General Franco and the Axis, he declared, would mean the time to move had come.

Among other things, he added, Spain was to enter the war in 1941 in connection with an attack on Morocco. But last September, he said, the plan was changed and Spain was instructed to be neutral and get all that was possible out of Britain and the United States. Since then, the Marquis said, Germany had "peacefully" invaded Spain and put military forces in the Canary Islands and the Spanish African possessions. He said that Hitler and Franco had signed a pact on October 8, 1938, under which Hitler received power to direct Spain's national and international policies.

—NEWS ITEM.

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

By PAUL TILLICH

. . . *Democracy must find its religious foundation*

RELIGIOUS knowledge" has a double meaning. It can mean: Knowledge *about religion*; and it can mean: Knowledge *out of religion*. Knowledge about religion is theoretical knowledge. It can be attained by anybody able to understand the information he receives concerning religious ideas, symbols, acts, cults, organizations of different religions past and present. Such a knowledge can be exact, based on scientific research and it can be vague, based on

occasional information, hearing or reading. It can be universal, embracing the whole of human religion, and it can be special, concerning only the actual religion of the social group to which one belongs. It can be taught and learned with slight or great interest, with or without personal concern, with or without personal participation in it, ex-

cept for the general ability of the human mind to understand the creations of the human mind, even if remote and strange. This is knowledge *about religion*.

Quite different is knowledge *out of religion*. This knowledge is part

of the religious life itself and has meaning only in and for the religious life. It is based on actual experiences: traditions which have formed us from the beginning of our life, a decision made at some turning point of

our development. The knowledge is true as much as the life is true of which it is the cognitive expression. Such religious knowledge cannot be taught; or if it is taught and only taught it has ceased to be knowledge *out of religion* and it has become knowledge *about religion*. It has ceased to be a matter of ultimate concern, an existential matter, a matter

Both religious denominationalism and cultural secularism have become outmoded, old-fashioned, far behind the reality of our time. This insight, having been in earlier years a venturing thought, now has become for me and many people who are keen to the beating pulse of our time an immediate feeling, a taste and smell, so to speak.

Original Article.

of "to be or not to be." It has become a matter of theoretical concern, of increasing one's stock of information.

This distinction between religious knowledge in the *theoretical* and religious knowledge in the *existential* sense, between knowledge *about* religion and knowledge *out of* religion is a basic distinction for any discussion of religion in education.

Now it is undeniable that the reality of religion belongs historically to the most powerful realities, without which the history of mankind cannot even be conceived of. If we cut it away from teaching the picture of all civilization past and present becomes distorted. It remains fragmentary and un-understandable. The greatest periods in the history of art are unapproachable by one who knows nothing about the content they deal with, the symbols they use. The same is true of literature and music and architecture. No history, either of Europe or of this country, is understandable without the interrelation of State and Church-history. No individual—or mass-psychology can penetrate through the surface of man's consciousness without dealing with the function of the religious symbols and emotions, even in a, superficially seen, atheistic mind. It gave me a shock when I first experi-

enced in this country how consistently and carefully all elements of religion were operated away from the picture of man and history in our school teaching, and how distorted, consequently, these pictures became. Not in the name of religion and, certainly, not in the name of the churches, but in the name of a true representation of human civilization teaching about religion must be demanded.

Such a teaching moreover could give even more than a dead knowledge. It could awaken interest in and sympathy for the values and truths contained in the religious classics, just as the teaching of secular classics is supposed to awaken sympathy and to communicate ideas and motives. As far as this instruction about religion can go. But not farther. Knowledge out of religion would not be reached. For knowledge out of religion is the interpretation of a given religious reality to those who live in it or are preparing to enter into it. And such a work could be done only if all teaching is related to the ultimate concern of our existence, that is to religion; for religion is nothing except this ultimate concern.

An example from a country in which religion was a main subject in all school teaching may illustrate

my point: In my childhood I lived and attended the public school in a small East-German town, where the whole life was related to the only church of the town, situated in its very center, physically and spiritually. The school teaching in all its sections was determined by the Christian-Protestant interpretation of life and the world. And consequently the religious instruction was not theoretical but existential, in spite of all its methodical shortcomings.—The same kind of teaching, on a usually higher methodical level, was carried on in the big cities, amongst the millions of working-class children who never experienced religious life of any kind, who were educated in indifference or hatred towards the church and all it stands for. And here the religious instruction had no existential meaning at all. It was knowledge about religion, quickly forgotten, not knowledge out of religion, and although there was a great amount of such religious teaching it was able neither to stop the wave of anti-religious secularism nor to fill the vacuum into which the demonic forces of Nazi-Paganism flooded.

This example shows the limited importance of additional religious teaching from an ultimate point of view. It shows that the real and tre-

mendously serious problem is: What about the religious foundation of our teaching as such? The situation existing in this country is, historically, quite understandable. The conflict of confessions and denominations which disrupted the medieval unity with respect to the interpretation of life finally created a kind of secularism, which was indifferent or compromising or inimical towards denominational religion. The physical, moral and intellectual destruction, brought about by the religious wars, made it imperative for state, science, morals, education, social and economic life, to liberate themselves increasingly from denominationalized religion. All this was natural and unavoidable. But today the situation has fundamentally changed. Both religious denominationalism and cultural secularism have become outmoded, old-fashioned, far behind the reality of our time. This insight, having been in earlier years a venturing thought, now has become for me and many people who are keen to the beating pulse of our time an immediate feeling, a taste and smell, so to speak. And in the most advanced representatives of both groups, of the churches and of secular society, symptoms of the same half-conscious feeling can be observed. One does not believe any

more in the ultimate meaning of one's own denomination. And one does not believe any more in the ultimate meaning of a non-religious secularism. One is

right *not* to do so. A new, non-denominational religious foundation of the whole secular life, including teaching and education, is the demand on which the very existence of our civilization depends, incomparably more than on military defense. For, the at-

tacking powers became powerful because of the feeling of meaninglessness, of emptiness, the cynicism and despair in the younger generation of all the democratic nations. I have been impressed with this fact over and over again while travelling through democratic Europe in the

years before the war. *Democracy as such—this has at last become evident—cannot resist in the long run if it does not find a religious foundation,*

deep enough and strong enough to carry the burden of one of the most catastrophic transformations world history has ever seen.

It is possible to go on in undisturbed periods with superficial concerns, in living and teaching. This has become im-

possible today. We are longing for a new interpretation of human existence, of man's historical and personal destiny, of the good which is the highest good. We are looking for a demand and a promise of unconditioned power, for an ultimate concern grasping us and our civilization with irresistible majesty.

"If any permanent closer association of Britain and the United States is achieved, an island people of less than fifty millions cannot expect to be the senior partner. . . . The center of gravity and ultimate decision must increasingly lie in America. We cannot resent this historical development. We may rather feel proud that the cycle of dependence, enmity and independence is coming full circle into a new interdependence."

—LONDON ECONOMIST.

SAVE PROTESTANT ENGLAND

By KENNETH LESLIE

—*There is a blind spot in our thinking.*

[Protestantism must never forget that its faith was communicated through Catholicism. The Roman Church remains the only link during many centuries between the modern world and the early Christian enthusiasts. Protestantism engendered the Counter-Reformation which cleansed the Church from within. Protestantism therefore served Catholicism. Today the New Protestantism may serve Catholicism once more. For there are latent forces within Catholicism (particularly in France and America) which may be awakened to an act of new cleansing. Let it be understood clearly then that the thing we attack is political Catholicism or Vaticanism. If we seem harsh in condemnation of political Catholicism it is because we wish to serve religious Catholicism.]

A few years ago I had the privilege of spending an evening with the poet Bishop MacDonald of Victoria, B. C. He told me then, what has impressed me many times since, that Christendom cannot afford to remain divided any longer in the face of the enemy which faces it.

It was a tragedy that at the time of the Protestant Reformation Christendom had so far hardened, had become so wedded to formula and feudalism, that it could not absorb the Reformation.

But today the Reformation itself has hardened, has become wed to formula and to the social forms in which it has become embedded, so that it cannot absorb the new demands of human liberty.

The following article states what I believe Protestants should think of the world war. Marxists think the world war is a mere capitalist struggle for markets. It includes that, but it is much more than that.

Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen, one of the accepted spokesmen of Catholicism in this country, makes a direct bid for Catholic control of the post-war world. I think it is fair to take his bid as representing the view of intransigent Catholicism.

Protestantism stands today between two fires. It must move.]

A Citizen Is a Believer

This is a Protestant nation. A *Pro*-testant is a witness *for*, a *Pro*-testant *testifies* in behalf of, his faith. This nation is Protestant in that its constitution is a testimony in behalf of a profound religious faith.

The Bill of Rights is a charter for the development of free and responsible men. It is the legal expression of fraternity. But bound into it is the concept of fraternity itself.

Fraternity subserves no law but law may serve fraternity. Fraternity is a super-legal concept. It is a religious concept.

The democratic constitution is the constitution of a group of believers. And since the citizens of the United States swear allegiance to this constitution they thereby sever allegiance from any group that would supervene that allegiance. Those who subscribe to a sect of religion which wars against the *democratic* faith do thereby divide their allegiance.

Protestants are those of the Jewish-Christian tradition who have broken with the authority of the parent Roman Catholic Church. Some Protestants differ scarcely at all from the *theology* of the parent church. Others differ widely. But all Protestants have broken with the *authority* of the parent church. All Protestants deny the Roman Catholic doctrine that the state should become the servant of the church to carry out its moral edicts. (See *The State and the Church* by John A. Ryan and Moorhouse F. X. Millar; Macmillan, 1937.)

That is why the United States is a Protestant country, not because of statistics of church membership. It is because the people here, even the vast majority of Roman Catholics, believe as the Protestants believe, in democratic institutions independent of, and uncontrolled by, any church; and, insofar as they do so believe, these Roman Catholics have been Protestantized.

It is important that this be realized at the present moment, because apart from this country and the British Commonwealth of nations there are no Protestant nations left in the world. Moreover there is an intimate relation between the Protestant Reformation and resistance to the Nazi-Fascist Revolution.

For the Protestant Reformation was part of the eternal struggle of the man of persuasion to free himself from the man of force. That struggle is deeper than the economic struggle of the man of need to free himself from the man of greed. Marx and Lenin both overlooked the fact that in order to do their work of economic reformation they had to depend on the Protestant freedom of Switzerland and England.

The Abuse of Protestant Hospitality

It is an ironic consequence of the dialectic of motivation that those who use Protestant freedom to develop ideas of economic equality take that freedom entirely for granted, whereas those who use this Protestant freedom to develop ideas of spiritual inequality know full well their debt. I quote from Msgr. Ryan the following almost incredible passage: "As we have already pointed out, the men who defend the principle of toleration for all varieties of religious opinion, assume either that all religions are equally true or that the true cannot be distinguished from the false. On no other ground is it logically possible to accept the theory of indiscriminate and universal toleration.

"To the objection that the foregoing argument can be turned against Catholics by a non-Catholic State, there are two replies. First, if such a State should prohibit Catholic worship or preaching on the plea that it was wrong and injurious to the community, the assumption would be false; therefore the two cases are not parallel. Second, *a Protestant State could not logically take such an attitude* (although many of them did so in former centuries) *because no Protestant sect claims to be infallible*. Besides, the Protestant principle of private judgment logically implies that Catholics may be right in their religious convictions, and that they have a right to hold and preach them without molestation.

"Such in its ultimate rigor and complete implication is the Catholic position concerning the alliance that should exist between the Church and a Catholic State." (*The State and the Church* by John A. Ryan and Moorhouse F. X. Millar; Macmillan, 1937. My italics.)

In other words, heads I win, tails you lose. Both intransigent Catholic and doctrinaire Communist have abused Protestant freedom. Both despise Protestant freedom. Both must be taught to respect it.

The Failure of Christendom

If Protestant England goes down, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa will follow, isolating Canada and the United States in which the anti-Protestant forces, strengthened and encouraged by world events, will gnaw away and devour our freedom from the inside. Invasion will be quite unnecessary. Verily, the isolationists will have their reward.

Since the time of Henry VIII Protestant England has been carrying the seed of the idea of a free man throughout the world. And during the same period Protestant England has been sticking in the throat of the political Church of Rome.

That political Church has used diplomacy and armed force, missionary and soldier, rack and galley and sword to humble this free man.

She used Philip of Spain and Spain was broken.

She used Catherine of France and France was brought low.

Today she uses Franco to crush the free Spanish Republic. She uses Dolfuss to crush the Austrian Socialists. She allows Mussolini to crush the peasants and workers of Italy. She uses Hitler to crush freedom and democracy everywhere and take back her ancient world imperium. In a word, the modern "sword" of the Church is Nazi-Fascism.

This sword at times becomes unmanageable. It cuts down many of her own children. It even threatens to leap from her hand and strike off her own head. But Rome dares anything for she claims everything.

We should do wrong to despair of the Church. She is more Christ's than her present rulers dream. But she betrays Christ when she crushes free men in His name. For free men would have run to her as to a mother had she protected their freedom, yes even their freedom to condemn her.

The great failure of Christendom was the failure of the Church to absorb the Protestant Reformation. As most failures are it was a failure of pride.

That failure and the entry of the Jesuit iron into her soul are what make the political Church today no bulwark for free men but a comfort for

the enemies of free men. The political Pope who calls Franco the saviour of civilization breaks not Christ's heart only, but the hearts of vast numbers of American Catholics and American Protestants who long for the day when all who respect men as Jesus respected men may kneel together in one communion.

To divide this nation now would be a crime, but to fabricate false unity is to head straight for disaster. The fraternities of froth which mask subversion prepare a horrible disillusionment. (A fraternity of free men, Catholic, Protestant, Jew, unhampered by official commitments of any kind would stand for the free spirit which informs Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism, and *against* those Catholics, Protestants, or Jews, *whatever their connections* who appear willing to support slavery.)

It is safer to face the facts. The facts are these:

The latest phase of the attack against liberty began when Pope Pius XI pacted with Mussolini and instituted Catholic Action.

Just as Pope Leo XIII supported Bismark against the German Catholic Centre Party and prepared the way for the first phase of the World War, so Pope Pius XI supported Mussolini against the priest Don Sturzo's *Partito Popolare*, and later backed the modern Bismark (Hitler) against the same Catholic Centre Party, which alone stood in the way of Nazi rule, and prepared the way for the second phase of the World War. It is terrible to contemplate, but the liberal elements in American Catholicism will be as ruthlessly sacrificed as Sturzo, Klausener, the German Benedictines, and the other liberal Catholic elements whom Hitler persecutes, provided the totalitarian plan succeeds.

Britannia Delenda

That plan is: *Destroy Protestant England*, or so reduce her that she will sue for peace. It is not difficult to anticipate how this will be done. Hitler will play with the thought of double-crossing the political Church as he has double-crossed all his other accomplices in crime, once they become no longer useful. But he may have to wait a bit, for after Protestant England has gone down, Protestant America will be left to reckon with, and in Protestant America the Church has much influence. It has already delivered

Spain to the Axis through its influence upon American foreign policy in 1937 and 1938. It has performed a great many other services, negative and positive, in the interests of a Hitler victory. And it possesses other trump cards. It forms a valuable link with Latin America, Hitler's possible road from Nazi Europe to North America.

It has much of value to sell to Hitler.

Like all good strategists, moreover, it has an alternate plan, whose success, fortune serving, would outreach the wildest Jesuit dream.

Meantime, the plan is well forward. Already the Pope is appealing for prayers for "Peace," now that Hitler has blitzed Europe under his heel. This "peace" will confirm the Nazi rape of 14 nations and provide the breathing-space in which to prepare for the final squeeze on the throat of a free world.

The *Protestant Digest* warned Protestant America when Clerical Nazi-Fascism was slipping the Spanish linchpin into the Mediterranean wheel of the Axis.

The *Protestant Digest* has frequently warned the Protestant world to resist the inner weakness which accepted the "anti-Communist" ruse of the Jesuits, by which the Protestant world was divided from its only possible ally. It was painful to see a great Protestant journalist, Miss Dorothy Thompson, caught in the toils of this Jesuit conditioning and calling for an anti-Godless crusade. And it is a grateful task to record a distinct change in her attitude today.

"Like all other democracies we have chosen to snub the Soviet Union whose larger political and national interests correspond with our own." (*N. Y. Post*, May 12, 1941.)

And above all what shall be said of the fear that sits in the very vitals of Protestantism and opens the Protestant ear and heart to such hypnotic suggestions?

In examining this fear I shall be compelled to be somewhat personal.

REASSURE RUSSIA

People tell me that I do not sufficiently hate the Soviet Union and that I must kick the Communists to show my dislike for them. I had learned from the Catholic priests Vincent McNabb, James Tompkins, Virgil Michel that there is a better method with Communists. I had seen that method used and knew it could succeed. I had expressed the "better method" in a ballad "O'Malley to the Reds" in which the priest O'Malley says to the Communists:

. . . I'm with you, and I burn
In social anger, and I learn
Your honour, your quick sense of shame
At loveless things done in love's name.

Then turning and saluting the Red Flag they had draped behind the platform from which he was speaking, the priest went on:

"I see you've raised His standard there
Whose martyrs drenched it with their blood. . . .
Ride then with us upon that flood!
Hail to *our flag!* he said.

Now Mike O'Malley is really Mike Coady, the giant Cape Breton priest, and his method of combating Communism was to build the fire of democracy under it. I say "was" because in industrial Cape Breton the fire of democracy became a sun in which the mists of doctrinaire Marxism vanished. That is the method I believe in. I have described it at length in the *Protestant Digest* for June 1939. It is realistic. It works. Not alone with Communists but with all intransigent groups.

But what about "politicals," Communists who push the "party line" of opposition to the War? The "League for Human Rights" of Cleveland has analyzed this anti-war Communism and says (fairly I believe) that it is at present retreating from its emphasis on foreign affairs (the "Peace Rallies" of the Communists "failed completely") and is giving its attention to the defense of civil rights and other domestic problems. The League further says that "the best fight against them (the Communists) is to uphold civil liberties in this country."

Now it is fairly obvious that the Communists have felt themselves obliged to rationalize Stalin's appeasement of Hitler into a "peace program." Without in the least defending that appeasement I have stressed over and over again the fact that it followed hard on the heels of a period during which the democracies appeased Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito (Manchukuo, Ethiopia, Spain, Munich) not because they had to, not at all, but because they wanted to. Moreover in every case their appeasements were supported in the name of anti-Communism, that is *because Stalin was helping* (or threatened to help) *the fascist victim*. He helped China. The Chinese Communists literally kidnaped Chiang Kai Shek and persuaded him to fight Japan whose armies with American oil and steel conducted the most frightful war in history—a war largely unattended by our Red Cross and scarcely noticed by our newspapers.

Stalin sent aid to the young Spanish republic struggling for its life against its own church and two fascist states. He steadily opposed the spread of Fascism and sided with law and order. The record is there. It will stand. Being neither a Stalinist nor a Marxist I am not interested in apologizing for Stalin. *I am interested in finding out what fear it is that recurrently cuts the nerve of democratic action throughout the world.*

A Base Fear and a Sly Hope

What fear made the democracies break their word and refuse to come to China's aid? What fear made them allow Hitler to occupy the Rhine? What fear made them strangle Spain? What fear made them sell Czechoslovakia?

My answer has been and still is: the fear of Communism. Do not the facts confirm this answer?

With the fear went the hope that the Fascist states and the Authoritarian church would destroy Communism while we made a show of disapproving the unfortunate primitive and medieval ideologies of those states and that church.

This was a base fear and a sly hope, unworthy of a free people. It showed how sick our modern world had become. *We did not need to*

fear Communism. Not for one minute. We had the resources to make democracy a thing to be envied by Stalin's Russia. But the sick sin of greed lay along the nerves of our nation. And we went along with the English and French and Swiss and Dutch and Belgian bankers who picked up two of the oldest of human bludgeons, race idolatry and church idolatry, to gain with them a few added years of self-indulgence at the expense of a world massacre and a dark age to follow.

"Peace in our time" Chamberlain called it and he bustled about, wooing Mussolini, currying favor with the Pope, building up Hitler. The whole process has been called Chamberlainism and it is still going on.

Why? The answer again is: fear of Communism. Mussolini promised to destroy Communism. The Pope thundered his maledictions against Communism. Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco, were to be the Saviours of the world from Communism. It was true that all these gentlemen agreed that Communism is simply the natural outcome of Judaism, Protestantism, and Democracy, and so in declaring war on Communism they declared war on Judaism, Protestantism, and Democracy. But Chamberlainism swallowed all that.

Why? Fear, greed, pride of place, the slug's low desire for "peace in our time."

We feared to support China lest we find ourselves supporting Communism.

We feared to support Spain lest we find ourselves supporting Communism.

We hesitate to support England lest we find ourselves supporting Communism.

Is there not an instructive thread running through all this?

In the cause of collective security was it not our desire that Stalin should contract *out* of it? Did he have an alternative? Was there any nation left for him to contract *with* in the interest of collective security? Which one? England? France? The U.S.A.? None of these, for all of these feared him as friend more than as foe. He blackened every cause he

espoused. Many now say the Spanish people might have won if he hadn't helped them. Poland courted destruction rather than accept his help. England sold Bênes and squelched Stalin's suggestion of a conference of powers with one diabolically humorous word, "premature."

Stalin then became terror-stricken. The ring of Axis powers was closing in around him and behind this ring was the ring of democracies egging the Axis on, appeasing it, feeding it with war materials, winking at its aggressions provided they were in the direction of Russia.

He turned into an appeaser himself. And just in time to save his skin. To save it at least temporarily. Appeasement is always a temporary expedient.

The Terrified Bolshevik

One thing is sure. If Stalin should move to help any Axis victim tomorrow, England for instance, and should thereby become embroiled with Hitler, that victim would at once be smeared as Red and Hitler would at once be transformed into the sword of God against the Godless Barbarian Slav. The Jesuit-controlled reactionary press would raise hue and cry: Whom Stalin helps is Stalin's. Already notice has been served by American bishops and priests that Catholics can never in conscience fight side by side with Godless Russia. Is not all this sufficient to strike terror into the heart of even the terrible Bolshevik? He sees a world arrayed against him and hopes against hope they will remain divided among themselves.

DECLARE THIS WAR

A bold stroke is necessary. A bolder stroke than any yet contemplated in rightist or leftist quarters. Rightists have come out for alliance with Britain and China. Leftists have come out for alliance with Russia and China. We need a combination of these. Both include China, and China needs Russian aid. Russia needs us to take care of Japan so that it will be free to take care of Germany. Britain needs our productive capacity and assistance in the Atlantic. But she needs Russia to stop Germany in the Near East. *Neither Russia nor America can do alone what has to be done if England is to be saved.*

The present policy of snubbing Russia, if persisted in long enough, will actually bring about the Russian-German alliance which our press never ceases to announce. Such an alliance would be the fruition of the Jesuit dream and the Hoover dream of an anti-Soviet crusade. Such an alliance would mark the end of all Hoovers as well as of all Societies containing the name of Jesus. Such an alliance would immediately spell the doom of China, England, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa. Such an alliance would range 140 million Canadians and Americans against 300 million Europeans, 200 million Russians, 450 million East Asians. It would immediately, now, this month, confront our Canadian-American army of at most 2 million men with the war-hardened well-equipped 10 million German-Russian troops. Not mentioning Japan.

I am interested in moral, not armed strength; but doesn't it appear obvious that Miss Dorothy Thompson's belated hint might profitably be taken and an effort made to establish a British-Russian-Chinese-American Front?

To those who nurse that cold fear of Communism I would suggest the facing of the alternative.

There is no guarantee of success in this project I suggest, not the slightest, even supposing it be attempted in good faith and with the greatest skill.

It would be our job to show Stalin that if he reverses the Molotoff diplomacy of isolation and returns to the Litvinoff diplomacy of collective security *our guarantee, our diplomacy, our armed force, will be joined with his.*

I firmly believe that in the interests of Soviet survival Stalin would prefer to deal with us than with Hitler. The threat of Hitler is immediate but he fears to fight it because he fears that *his opposition to Hitler would turn Hitler into an anti-Bolshevik crusader in the eyes of capitalist America.*

Were Stalin reassured as to this fear nothing could suit him better than to help us stop Hitler.

In order to reassure him we must remove from our counsels *all appeasers* and *anti-Godless crusaders* and we must insist on Churchill doing the same thing. World leadership must move definitely into Roosevelt's hands. War aims must ring out over the world, not abstractions, but definite concrete commitments ending imperialism and instituting world union and world police enforcing world law.

With the removal of *all appeasers* and *anti-Soviet crusaders* (who are the two sides of a single false coin) and with the clarion announcement of war aims well to the left of centre, *the war must be declared*. A great deal of time has been frittered away with "lease-lend" and "convoy" and "short of war" talk which betrays our hypocritical confusion.

A clear word, a cleansing operation, and a call to action would dispel this confusion.

It is not enough that the English speaking nations unite. They must *march together* to a destination, not *huddle together* like sheep for the slaughter.

We have been divided in the following way: We have been told that atheistic Bolshevism is the inevitable consequence of democracy. Then we have been told that Bolshevism is the annihilator of democracy and that Fascism is the only bulwark against Bolshevism. So we have been taught to fear Bolshevism more than Fascism, yes even to yield to Fascism, to appease Fascism in gratitude for its protection from this Bolshevism which we have been previously told (to our further embarrassment and confusion) is our lineal and legitimate heir. What laughter in Hell!

So we have been *immobilized*, and *divided*, and *destroyed* piecemeal.

The answer to all this is to get going, to *move sharply anti-Fascist, everywhere, on all fronts*.

The answer is to prove that we are anti-Fascist. This means reversal of all present appeasings of Spain, of France, or of Japan. It means sharp reprimanding of any English appeasings even while fighting all-out on

England's side. It means *showing the world*, not where we stand but *where we are going*. Therefore, we must declare this war because:

- (1) it will terrify the Nazis (domestic and foreign),
- (2) it will strengthen the President's hand,
- (3) it will get rid of the cowardly diabolism that "*this is our war*," so we'll fight it "*short of war*,"
- (4) it will hearten all the Axis enemies,
- (5) it will quicken the anti-Nazi revolution in Europe,
- (6) it will enable us to help China honestly by boycotting Japan,
- (7) it will convince Russia that we are honestly anti-Nazi and are not merely waiting for England's fall to join the anti-Comintern Axis, and so
- (8) it will assure at least the neutrality of the Red Army and may ultimately bring it into the war against the Nazis,
- (9) it will galvanize into one will all the factions in this country.
- (10) If we wait for "an incident" we shall be following an outmoded form of "diplomacy," a mode which we rightly deprecated in Russia's attack on Finland. The people can stand honesty much better than this devious maneuvering on the part of diplomats. In fact, *they demand honesty*.

We may not win. We may be too late. But it is our only chance of winning back the soul we have lost. Moreover (and this is not primary but it is likely true) it is our only chance of survival except as a colony of Germany.

That alternative is horrible to contemplate, yet I have no great expectation that we shall escape that alternative. There are few signs of the childlike common sense necessary to see through the clerical-Fascist ruse which has divided the modern world and is engaged in destroying it. I congratulate the enemy of man. He has used every diabolical bait, including the intellectual pride of man in his multitudinous categories, to deceive and lure man to his destruction. It is man's own mind that has betrayed him.

VITAL LITERATURE

WILL THE INQUISITION RETURN?

By KARL CHWOROWSKY

CHARACTERS OF THE INQUISITION, by William Thomas Walsh. 301 pp. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, N. Y. 1940. \$3.00.

THIS book by a Catholic historian, ostensibly written for Catholic readers, should make fascinating if not disturbing reading for non-Catholics, particularly for the type known as "liberal." The book is entertaining and highly informative; the writer knows his facts, he commands a facile pen, he can make scenes live and move with the skill of a poet and dramatist, as witness his magnificent description of the great "auto de fe" in Valladolid, Spain, on May 21, 1559 (p. 225ff.), and his portraits of the five greatest figures in the history of the Holy Office show rare literary skill, keen psychological insight, and a sense for historical minutiae that is at times amazing.

At that the book leaves the non-Catholic reader disturbed, for non-Catholics will be even more baffled by this "close-up" of that perplexing enigma, the Catholic mind. Here this mind works through the medium of as clever a bit of apologetic and polemic as this reviewer has seen in years.

Mr. Walsh becomes the apologist

for the Inquisition, which, so he feels, and he is to no small degree correct in his assumption, has suffered much from partisan and one-sided treatment at the hands of non-Catholic writers. As he puts it, "there has been too much intolerance in the study of intolerance," and as far as this relates to the treatment accorded the Holy Office by biased historians, Mr. Walsh proposes to balance the scales of justice by an "audiatur et altera pars," in this instance "by going directly to the source." Assuming that his sources are reliable, that his evidence is factual, he cannot escape the censure that he seems to seek a balancing of the scales of justice by the simple device of over-weighting the other, in this case, his own side.

The greater part of the book is devoted to the story of the five leading figures in Inquisition history, viz. Pope Gregory IX, Bernard Gui, Nicholas Eymeric, Torquemada, and Cardinal Ximenes. Chapter VII takes up the story of "Some Sixteenth Century Victims," and it is in this chap-

ter and the last that Mr. Walsh unleashes his polemic against the "international conspiracy" against Holy Church, in which the arch-rascals (he does *not* use this term!) are Talmudic Jewry, Free-Masonry, and Protestantism.

Most disturbing in this book, as already indicated, is the frank disclosure of how the Catholic mind works at apologetics. Indeed, Mr. Walsh finds occasion when he must express "regret" that violence had to be used in the defense of the faith against heretics of various sorts; he becomes almost sentimental at times in deploring the fact that, of course, any organized movement for heresy-hunting and heretic-burning *will* get out of hand, that there will always be over-zealous souls and extremists who will be misled by their fanatic devotion to Holy Church to engage in excesses, etc. But on the whole, these excursions into the realm of the more gentle and humane emotions are rare and the great thesis of the book is boldly announced and bravely carried through to the final pages which end in a magnificent apotheosis of the Faith and in an eloquent plea to American Catholics to stand by Holy Church against the enemies that assail her from without.

The "argumentum," beginning with that most interesting Chapter

I, "Moses," runs something like this: Even as Moses, the servant of God, was commanded by God to avenge with the sword the apostasy of those Hebrews who had bent their knees before the Golden Calf, so that in one day 23,000 of these apostates were killed, so the church, sole repository of truth, and by the grace of God "defensor fidei" must not hesitate to use the sword, aye, even torture, in order to combat the deadly heresies that threaten her very life. This is the premise from which there follows with irresistible logic an almost complete "white-washing" of everything the Inquisition has done, from espionage of the worst sort, to every devilish device of torture and "third degree," to betrayal and treachery within family and home, to wholesale persecution and expatriation; cf. the expulsion of the Spanish Jews under Ferdinand and Isabella. All this is, of course, duly deplored and regretted by Mr. Walsh, but always he returns to the inexorable logic of his position, viz. "How could the church have acted otherwise under the circumstances?"

One cannot help wondering whether it has ever occurred to Mr. Walsh and his school of apologists to reason something like this: "Since, as we are told, the great

founder of the Church refused in Gethsemane to be rescued from his enemies either by the sword of Peter or by the legions of his father's angels, and since he chose to die as an example of self-sacrificing and forgiving love; and since, as we are told, the early church spread the gospel of love and forgiveness in a Pagan and intolerant world by means of humility and martyrdom—so we are told—why could not Holy Church, having survived Pagan philosophies and early heresies by the use of spiritual weapons, have defended herself against later and newer heresies by similar means?"

But then, such reasoning does not lie along the road that Mr. Walsh and other Catholic historians have chosen to travel in defending the faith; to them the authority and character of the church are such as to excuse anything, even the terrible thing called the Holy Office; and it is because of such reasoning that the non-Catholic reader will turn much disturbed from this book and ask himself, "If the church of the middle ages took its authority from a Moses in order to persecute and burn its heretics, what would prevent a twentieth century Catholic Church from invoking the authority of a Gregory IX and a Torquemada for persecuting and oppressing modern

heresies, should it have the power to do so?" Mr. Walsh would smilingly waive aside this suggestion; but this reviewer remains perturbed.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION. A Review for 1940, by *Raymond B. Fosdick*.

The review of the activities fostered by the Rockefeller Foundation is this year as usual fascinating to read. Yet, as we might expect these dark days, through all the stories of the marvels of scientific research and of its application to social healing there runs a note of perturbation. For the Foundation is devoted to the "well-being of mankind." And as its president, Raymond Fosdick, says, "power [knowledge] can be used by evil men to do evil even more obviously and dramatically than it can be used by men of good will to do good." Knowledge of how things behave is what science is. Science is thus the power to anticipate events and may be used either to help or hinder them. But Mr. Fosdick asks questions which science cannot answer: questions of ends and purposes, questions as to what *is* "the well-being of mankind."

The answers to these questions are buried deep in the very bones

of Mr. Fosdick, reared as he was in a Christian home where what used quaintly to be called "the Christian verities" were his very bread and butter and the air he breathed. As with most of us, however, these verities (call them simply decencies) may have become so much a part of him that he has taken them for granted all the while and only now in this period of spiritual devaluation does he discover that what he took for granted in the world is *suddenly not there*.

One of man's tragic propensities is to grow too attached to the parcels truth comes in. The unscientific parcels, in which the "Christian verities" were tied up have deprived our generation of its spiritual sight. Raymond Fosdick's brother, Harry Emerson Fosdick, has devoted a lifetime to the great task of disentangling these verities from their pre-scientific wrappings. It is remarkable that Raymond should now unwrap science and discover its emptiness, or rather its neutrality. Quite correctly he adds that "this . . . [the neutrality or indifference of science] . . . would scarcely justify science in dissociating itself from considerations of value and purpose."

May it be suggested that Mr. Fosdick means by "science" not merely the body of scientific knowl-

edge but rather the scientist, the man who seeks knowledge and who wields knowledge. And this man is finding out today that he needs more than science. As Mr. Fosdick says, "Knowledge of facts does not tell us what to do about them." Here is the true humility of the scientist himself. Indeed such a statement exemplifies paradoxically the point at which the man of science becomes the man of religion. There is a real sense in which it is true that the modern man of science is the very type of the modern man of religion, that is, the man most completely oriented towards reality. K.L.

"THE TIME IS NOW," by *Pierre van Paassen*. *The Dial Press, New York*. \$1.00.

There is a map of the world spread across the two center pages of this book. Mr. van Paassen entitles the map "The War of the Oceans." The book deals with the thing the map illustrates.

The thesis is: Hitler aims to dominate the world. The British fleet stands in his way. But it is useless without bases. Bases are on land contiguous to oceans. Therefore, if Hitler can get control of the Continental Shore Lines he has as good as sunk the British Navy or

any other Navy that he does not like. Therefore "The March Around the Oceans." It is the German Army versus the British Navy. The coast of Europe is already Hitler's from the top of Norway to the tip of Greece. His immediate objectives are Gibraltar, Suez, Dakar, Cape Town. Driving East through Persia to India (throwing a piece of each to the Russian Bear to keep him quiet) he will help Hirohito take Singapore, the Dutch East Indies, Australia. This will render the British Navy baseless and, therefore useless, in the South Atlantic, the Indian and Pacific Oceans. From Dakar he will reach southwestward to Natal in South America which continent he will dominate. With South America gone, what becomes of our scheme of hemisphere defense? Hitler conducts the symphony of this war from the score written by the geopolitical scientists of the Institute of that name. Events to date bear out Mr. van Paassen's contention that the ambition of the Nazis to dominate the world for a thousand years is as real as it is fantastic, and that it is being carried out according to the diabolically clever plans of this Geopolitical Institute.

Mr. van Paassen says in his foreword, "I still believe war a supreme

evil and its existence on earth to be the result of the betrayal of Christ by organized Christianity. But . . . today I feel I must take to heart the words that were engraved on the walls of their dungeons in Nîmes by captive but undaunted Huguenots: '*Résistez! Battez-vous!*' ('Resist! Fight!')" and this is what Mr. van Paassen passionately demands that America should do: Resist! Fight!

Mr. van Paassen's plan of action for America is that we should occupy Dakar at once along with Cape Verde, Canary and Azores islands. Call it protective custody or what you will. If it is not done immediately the Nazi, not the Yankee, will be the "Good Neighbor" to South America. Convoy war materials to England. Stage an American fleet demonstration at Singapore and stop sending Japan oil for the destruction of China. Proclaim war aims: a free Germany in a free Europe in a free world, free not merely from the threat of Nazism but also from the yoke of British Toryism.

Agreed, Mr. van Paassen. Co-gently argued and eloquently presented, as is your wont. Your book will sweep the country and will shock America. It's pamphleteering of a high order.

KENNETH LESLIE.

WORTH NOTING

How the Nazi System Works

One day late in 1940 a Dutchman living in New York was surprised by a visit from a prominent businessman he had known in Rotterdam.

"Your brother is in a concentration camp," the visitor told him. "If the Gestapo looks you up, do what they say, or it might go hard with him. The Nazis, you see, have a list of Dutch in the United States who have relatives back in the old country."

Later, the man learned he was only one of many who had been contacted in the same manner. Further investigation revealed that the visitor from Rotterdam himself had been forced to act as a Nazi agent, through threats against his wife and children held as hostages back in the Netherlands.

Evidence of this latest Nazi scheme to create a "slave-spy" system in the United States has been secured by federal agents, American foreign attaches, British intelligence officers.

Through terroristic methods, the Nazis have organized this network of unwilling spies and saboteurs among non-Germans—the foundation for a super-Gestapo in the United States.

—(DONALD E. KEYHOE and JOHN JAY DALY in the American Magazine.)

* * * * *

English Co-ops and Russia

A call to the Government to make an early declaration of peace aims "further to inspire the forces of democracy to a successful conclusion of the war" was made recently at the annual conference of the Co-operative Party, at York, England.

A resolution expressing regret at the failure of the government to come to an understanding with the Soviet Union and instructing Co-operative M.P.'s to press for a more friendly attitude towards Russia was carried without dissension.

—REYNOLDS' NEWS.

A Roman Catholic Canon Law
 Promulgated in 1917
 Canon 1374

"Catholic children must not attend non-Catholic, neutral or mixed schools; that is, such as are also open to non-Catholics. It is for the Bishop of the place alone to decide, according to the instructions of the Apostolic See, in what circumstances and with what precautions attendance at such schools may be tolerated, without danger of perversion to the pupils."

* * * * *

The Jesuit Father Blakely, in his pamphlet "May an American Oppose the Public School," thus lays it down that:

"Our first duty to the public school is not to pay taxes for its maintenance. . . .

"The first duty of every Catholic father to the public school is to keep his children out of it. . . .

"There neither is nor can be any obligation for any American, Catholic or non-Catholic, to approve either as best for the common good or tolerable as an educational system, schools which exclude all training in religion."

* * * * *

But the Great Father McGlynn Said This:

"I assert that it is a calumny and an outrage to denounce the public schools of America as immoral. It is also an outrage to denounce them as Godless. It is simply a miserable pretense to say that the parochial schools are superior in every respect to the public schools. It is a notorious fact that will be cheerfully acknowledged by hundreds of priests who are compelled, not a few of them in spite of themselves, to get up parochial schools, that the teaching in the parochial schools is altogether inferior to that of the public schools."

SYNOPSIS OF FOREGOING CHAPTERS OF "LET MY PEOPLE GO"

"I had had a rare experience. I had met a Christian. There was nothing I could do but write about it." This was Claude Williams, founder and director of the Peoples' Institute of Applied Religion.

Born in the very poorest part of the hungry South Claude grew up in an environment of strict Calvinism, intense race prejudice and clannishness. Mustered out of the army after the World War Williams heard and answered the call to the ministry. He attended Bethel Seminary and became Minister in the Auburntown churches where he gradually shed his literalistic fundamentalism and grew to a new understanding of God. He also began the study of economics and for a time came under the influence of Karl Marx. It was here too that he shed his racial prejudice and came to see its economic aspect. "There was no reality in it, science reorganized no races. It was a weapon used, consciously or unconsciously by the owners to drive down the living standards of the people!" Determined to break down his deep rooted heritage of prejudice completely "he forced himself into intimate contact with Negroes and suddenly they were people to him: a marvelous people. The fabulous wall of prejudice had fallen flat at a touch of his hand, and he saw it was of paper and had no foundations. It had been as easy to push the wall over as it had been hard to make himself touch it." But the pious Elders of the Church failed to approve of a "nigger loving" preacher carrying a strange God into the field of social and economic relationships and it became increasingly evident that Claude could not continue his activities in Auburntown. God came to the rescue and prepared an exit in the shape of a small mining town called Paris, in western Arkansas. The church there was a stagnant institution and around it nine-tenths of the people were starvation poor. The church needed a minister, the people a leader. Claude grasped the opportunity and went.

Settled in the manse at Paris "Claude strolled down to the courthouse square. It was Saturday, and most of the population, young and old, black and white, were out on the square. Young girls in cheap store dresses wandered up and down. . . . Hungry-looking men in patched, frayed overalls leaned against every wall, squatted on every doorstep. . . .

LET MY PEOPLE GO

CHAPTERS FROM THE LIFE OF CLAUDE WILLIAMS

(Continued)*

By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

*The Spirit of the Lord is upon me,
Because he anointed me to preach good news to the poor:
He hath sent me to announce release to the prisoners of war,
And recovery of sight to the blind,
To send away free those whom tyranny has crushed.*—LUKE.

*It has so happened in all ages of the world that some have laboured
and others have without labour enjoyed a very large proportion of
the fruit. This is wrong and should not continue.*

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The churches of Paris, like those of Auburntown, Watertown and Lebanon, passionately differed on whether a Christian should be sprinkled into heaven or pushed forwards, backwards or sideways.

But on one point all agreed. This was the urgent necessity of closing the pool hall.

The Almighty planned to torture through all eternity any Parisian who took a piece of wood and with it caused a ball to strike other balls. It was the conscientious churchman's duty to do what he could about this.

Leading pieticians throughout the State of Arkansas, where morality was already protected by laws against such infamies as Sunday kite-flying, had taken up the problem. Their campaign had resulted in a law forbidding the game of pool. But the ways of Satan were as subtle in Arkansas as elsewhere. He had dodged the law by reducing the balls in size, adding one

* For synopsis of foregoing chapters, see preceding page.

LET MY PEOPLE GO

or two more, numbering them differently, and calling the game snooker. In Paris and other communities the pool hall remained the young men's meeting-place. The sin of striking balls with pieces of wood grew in popularity, and the young folk continued to stay away from God's houses in great throngs.

Such was the situation Claude found, and if he wanted to revive the corpse of the Paris Presbyterian church by attracting the workers and the youth, he had the pool hall to beat.

There was no other competition. Paris had no park, no library, no place at all for people to go and foregather in comfortable relaxation. The churches offered posthumous passes to heaven, but even if the destination had been attractive to the young, the price in fleshly tedium was high.

With the people's immediate needs the churches did not concern themselves. For boys and girls reaching maturity there was no work. The miners, compulsorily idle through most of the year, tried to raise families on less than enough for their own bare needs, while the wealth they produced when they were allowed to work was shipped away on the railroad. To start work in the mine a man had to flicker—to get a loan ahead of payday—at a high rate of interest, to buy clothes, dinner-pail, carbide, lamp: so that nearly all remained in perpetual debt. On the plantations near by, Negroes and whites rotted with their children from exhaustion and want. But these were materialistic problems, and no concern of God's Paris agents, who had their hands full saving souls.

The churches of Paris were in the line of duty, for that was the kind of God they had, and all they were doing was serving him. He was the same God Claude had had until he became too uncomfortable a bedfellow: the God who, having made men in his own image, condemned them to weariness and frustration, disease and hunger, dirt and exposure and oppression, and then mocked them with the bait of paradise and blackmailed them with the threat of hades. The blackmail had little force in Paris because the people already had their hell. There were miners and young people hanging around the courthouse square and the pool hall, who cursed God.

For this Claude did not blame them. But he had a different God

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for the people, symbolized in the way he dealt with the pool-hall problem. He went out and bought a pool table and set it up in the unused wing of the Presbyterian church. For Claude and his God the problem was just that size.

The symbol set something in motion, and very soon Claude had a time keeping up with the programme the people built for themselves around the pool-table God. The empty wing of the church became a recreation-room with boxing-gloves, punch-bags, exercisers, Indian clubs, playing-cards, checkers, books and magazines. The empty lot adjacent to the church was turned by young volunteers into a playground for tennis, basket-ball, baseball and volley-ball. Claude found \$60 in an old building fund and persuaded the church treasurer that it should be used for buying equipment.

The young people came flocking. They organized two clubs for boys and two for girls, and formed discussion groups to take up subjects from war to sex equality and capital punishment. On Sunday afternoons that summer they drove in a cavalcade to nearby towns for intercommunity devotions and games.

As for the miners, they had never heard of a church with a poolroom in it. It sounded kind of crazy. But any place where they could gather for snooker and cards and chin-whacking in a pleasant atmosphere was all right with them. They warmed to Claude. Maybe he was a nut, they said, but he talked their kind of language. He did not come the pious sky-pilot on them, and it wasn't one of those Salvation Army bargains where a man had to endure an hour's bible-babble about his soul to get the doughnut. It was "Hi, neighbour" and "Hi, preacher" when they saw him, and there was a half-smile in the "Hi, preacher," indicating he did not fool them for a second: he was just an ordinary fellow.

Things were happening so fast around the old Presbyterian plant that it was like a whirlwind for Paris. The old church members and the elders and deacons blinked their eyes. They examined the God Claude had whisked in there and they were not sure if they knew him. They had given the preacher a free hand and they knew he had the backing of Dr.

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Gillespie, the district head of the Board of Missions which paid half his salary. They had to sit quiet and see what would come of it all.

Certainly there were things about the new God that impressed them. He was bringing new crowds to the services and Sunday School classes, even if many came in through a poolroom. Pennies, nickels and dimes were clinking into the collection plate. And here were the young folk coming from other churches and from no churches to do all kinds of work on the plant for nothing. The Presbyterian veterans of Paris had always deplored the frivolous spirit of youngsters who thought only in terms of money.

The services Claude conducted in the church were friendly affairs. He brought his God in and set him down in the midst of the people there in Paris, Arkansas: a simple spirit of good, of justice, of laughter, of plenty, of love. The people went for this God, and felt as if he was an old friend who had been away a long time on a balloon trip. The Sunday services were mostly devotional in the mornings. In the evenings they were given to the social Christian message setting forth how men had toiled and suffered to establish the Kingdom on earth, how, after centuries of God working through man, the Kingdom was now at last ready at hand, and how the forces of finance-Mammon alone remained blocking the gate.

Claude preached from the Bible, but the old church members hardly recognized the book. He had gone all through it, sifting and sorting and re-evaluating in the light of present realities. He sat up each night till the small hours studying sociology and biology and economics. He kept his Bible on the arm of the chair as he studied, and worked out ways of presenting social and scientific truths through the familiar Bible stories and lessons. The task brought out for him depths of wisdom in the book which he had not suspected.

Every Sunday the congregations grew. The people who came were poor people, of many denominations and of none. The message was of and for the poor and was real to them, making them glow with faith and hope. It shone a beam of light into the vast impersonal darkness of their present suffering, and the name of the beam of light was God. In the courthouse square after the services people would gather in knots, discussing the preacher: barber, druggist, blacksmith, share-cropper, butcher, youths shot

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out of school into a blank world, young daughters of miners, stooped old retired farmers, housewives with toil-hardened faces.

"Preacher Williams is too forward-looking for a small town," the druggist would say. "The young folks sure like him," said the barber. "He's a challenge to us, that's truth of the business," said a youth. "He can preach," said a lawyer. "He's preaching what folks'll be practising twenty years from now," said the blacksmith. And Claude would walk by on his way to the pool hall to talk to some of the miners, and everyone would smile as he went by and call out: "Hi, preacher! You certainly tell 'em! Keep it up, preacher!"

The manse became a kind of madhouse, with a floating population of young people who came to consult and discuss and chat. The resident population was rarely confined to Claude and Joyce and the two children, because it became known that there was lodging there for anyone with no place to shelter. A boy who had done a stretch in the industrial school for some delinquency was released under the preacher's care and stayed fifteen months. Joyce worked with Claude to fix up the little study of the manse. They framed and hung pictures of Jesus and Eugene Debs. They cut from a magazine a series of woodcuts of the progress of man, the first showing him with nothing but his two hands, the last showing him with his great brain-children, the machines, wondering how to make them his slave instead of his master. They stuck the wood-cuts around the walls as a mural, and made shelves for all the scientific books and books about the new God which they kept accumulating.

The study became known as a place anyone could go at any time to talk with the preacher. Young people and humble people took to going there for advice and information on the most intimate problems, because the preacher did not hand it down like an oracle, but attacked the problems with them, giving them confidence in their own best judgment and instinct. He did not lecture them, but explained things simply, going down to the roots, so that they knew which direction to take and why. They found they could trust him, and there was one thing sure: nobody could talk to him on any subject without having some laughs, because his wit and good spirits were unfailing. He knew plenty, but he acted just like you or me, people

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said: the poorest illiterate labourer went out of the manse feeling like a person. The study was soon accepted as a general information bureau. There would be a group talking down on the square and a point would come up to which nobody knew the answer. Someone generally said:

"Well, let's go to the preacher's and find out."

The people of Paris were hungry in mind and body. Claude had come there to help them find God, to find God with them, and God was food. They needed both mental and physical food so badly that it was impossible to put one need ahead of the other. The emptiness of their bellies made them unhealthily preoccupied with material needs, and so stunted their souls. Their minds were starved for knowledge which would explain why their bellies were empty and how they could be filled. The whole programme of feeding the people must go forward in line.

Not satisfied with the narrow field of his own church, Claude went to the bat in the two local papers for the God he represented. He wrote plainly and forcefully, anatomizing the system of famine-in-plenty with a ripe wit, demanding the good life for all the people. The editors, one of whom was a Presbyterian elder, printed the pieces because they were lively reading, and free material to fill the spaces between advertisements was always hard to come by. They thought Claude had a screw or two loose, but they had to respect his learning. Books unheard of in fundamentalist Arkansas were seen in the preacher's study: scientific books, books by Tolstoy, Marx, Norman Thomas, Veblen, Sinclair, Edward Carpenter, Wells, Steffens, Debs, Renan. To respectable partisans of the old God who occasionally happened in and saw them, the authors' names were strange. They did not think a man who read so many books could be a healthy influence on the young people. But of those who expressed this doubt to his face, none tried twice to quote the Bible against him. He could always cap it with another text that left them tied in a knot. When he went to justifying himself with God's word on any phase of his programme he left no text unturned, and it was no use for them to talk any more, because, though inner conviction assured them they were right, a good Christian could not answer back to God.

They were on safer ground when a moral issue came up about

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which God was not on record with any statement for or against. They were hard to shake on the question of the sinfulness of drinking, smoking, dancing, and playing pool. They knew God disfavoured these things, and if he had not said so it was an oversight.

The previous year, boys and girls of the High School had suggested having a public dance, and the school principal had said that any teacher attending such a dance would be fired, any student would not graduate. But through his first winter Claude opened the manse one evening a week to the young people for dances. He got by with this on the ground that God might condone dancing that was in private.

Still the young people hankered after a public dance. In the spring the graduate class made plans for one to be held in a disused country club outside the town, which once had had a low reputation.

Claude went to plead their case before the Parent Teachers Association. There were cries of "Oh, no!" He said that if the country club was good enough for the young people it was good enough for him and Joyce, and they were going to the dance. They went, and saw that the boys and girls had a good time.

The event set Paris agog. Sober and orderly as the dance was, it stank in the nostrils of the old God, whose partisans did not need to be present to know what went on. On Sunday the Baptist minister, who had preached the graduating class commencement sermon on the Friday, was moved to speak about it from his pulpit. He described the dance bluntly as an orgy held in a hell-hole.

It was the kind of challenge Claude ate for breakfast. He decided to preach two Sundays later on the ethics of play. Young people of the Baptist sect, who had been at the dance, undertook to put up placards through the town, announcing:

"OUR DANCE AT THE HELL-HOLE"

Presbyterian Church

You Are Invited

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There was a record crowd for the sermon, overflowing into the yard. Claude said that play was a divine instinct and was not immoral at any time or in any place so long as it was play. He asked by what process of reasoning, by what Biblical authority, the fundamentalists concluded it was sinful to dance, drink, smoke or play cards.

He said that he loved the Church, but men had made it into a ghastly institution. Young people thought of it only as a place to conduct funerals, to hear about heaven, hell, demons and miracles. The fundamentalists wanted to keep "the old-time religion," which was good enough for them, although the old-time medicine, education, farming, architecture were not good enough and had been adjusted to the needs of the day. Like any other dying institution, the Church needed revivals: but revivals away from the old-time religion towards a modern religion without supernaturalism and without quotation marks.

He met the Baptist minister in the street some days later. Claude happened to be carrying under his arm a scientific book he had just received, called *Up From the Ape*. He could not resist the temptation to thrust it at the Baptist as he came abreast of him. The Baptist gazed for a moment at the title in large red lettering, pushed the book back with an expression of deep repugnance, and walked quickly on.

The miners were deeply God-fearing men for the most part, though there were among them some powerful heathens. They liked Claude as a man and they enjoyed his pieces in the papers. But the believers among them had little more use for preachers than the heathens had. They had reason.

They came to the poolroom, and Claude put no pressure on them to attend services. Then one Sunday evening Fred Howell, a heathen coal-digger, came out of curiosity in his ragged overalls and stood way out in the dark outside the church door while Claude was preaching. He was just curious. He meant to stay for a few minutes and maybe pick up a phrase or two that he could kid the preacher about next day when they shot pool together. When he heard what Claude was saying he lingered.

The preacher was talking about the beginning of life in the world. There was absolute stillness in the beginning, he said, and then something

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started moving, and gradually over millions of years man developed. Science had shown that the Bible story of creation was not literally true, but there was truth in it.

"The truth is in the Bible because it's true," he went on. "It isn't true because it's there. And here is truth: Article One of the Code of Creation, of all animal life, is co-operation, mutual aid, brotherhood.

"The great sixty-foot armour-plated ichthyosaurus and the monstrous dinosaur were anti-social individuals and they are dead as the moon. Ants and bees and geese have sense enough to combine for their mutual welfare, for food. The gorilla and Hoover are fast becoming extinct. Civilized man hasn't as much sense as a goose. He tries to be an individual, to do without co-operation, and unless he gets some sense in his head mighty soon he'll die out. 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard—thou scab—and learn to be wise.'

"Do you know that even the Hottentot in Africa, the most backward of men, when he's going to eat shouts out just as loud as he can holler, and if there's another Hottentot anywhere within sound of his voice he'll share his food with him? But the Mellons and Morgans to-day are living on their rich tables with thousands starving within sound of their voice, and they won't share with anyone. They're not Christians. They're not even as good as Hottentots. And yet we send missionaries to make the Hottentots Christian.

"God is in co-operation and union. The body of man itself is God's model union, made up of twenty-six billion cells all working together. They all came from just one cell, and each cell needs the same things: heat, food, light, air, water. If there is a tiny wound in the body, all the cells send an army of nurses to that place until it is completely well—or the whole body perishes. If the white corpuscles start attacking the red, the body dies of pernicious anæmia. The appendix has been outgrown and is no longer necessary to the rest of the body: it is just a parasite. All the appendicitis is just the other cells crying out against the parasite. The appendix will vanish. The same must happen with society's parasites.

"Why, you cannot get past the law of union. It takes two to make a man. A good marriage is simply a good union. Every society has fallen through violation of the solidarity of the species. Look at the Pyramids: the

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result of the unified work of thousands of slaves. They remain still as a monument to the eternal value of labour, but the Egyptian civilization which was built on slavery is dead.

"Good praying helps, but it won't change the world. We've had good praying. We've prayed for centuries, and the world isn't changed yet. The Children of Israel prayed and prayed and prayed—but they didn't come out of bondage till they organized. They found that to pray effectively you must pray collectively. Praying didn't help smallpox—but the discovery of vaccines did.

"Good singing won't do it either. We've had good singing. Good preaching won't do it. We've had good preaching. Something more is needed.

"Organize! It is nature's imperative. 'The truth makes us free.' We must work together to discover truth. Together. Unified. Organized.

"'And he prayed: Lord, that they might all be one.'"

Howell went home wondering at what he had heard. It hadn't been a sermon at all, but just like listening to a man talk common sense.

He told the others about it, and all week at the mine there was talk about Preacher Williams' sermon. Most of the men did not believe it was any more than words. They were ready to bet a day's pay to a miner's chance of heaven that this preacher would shy off like a scared colt when he saw what actual organizing of working-men in a place like Paris meant.

But next Sunday evening Howell went to the church again and took several other miners with him. He had flickered on his pay and bought him a pair of breeches so he could come and sit inside.

The sermon this time was on the text, "My Kingdom is not of this world." Most of the miners had heard that line before, and it represented for them all that they despised about the Churches. It was the Churches' time-honoured alibi for dodging the real problems of the people: the signal for all the old pie-in-the-sky stuff, about being meek and taking it on the chin for a stiff's reward of a harp and a pair of wings.

Just as he had announced years before in Auburntown, when he

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yet did not understand, Claude said: The present world system is of Satan.

Now he knew why, and said so. The present system was built on a foundation of murder, covetousness, robbery, uncharitableness. The essence of it had not changed since Jesus' day, and Jesus' words meant the same now as they did then. There was nothing supernatural about them. They simply meant that the world system would have to be changed right at the foundations before his Kingdom—an era of love and justice—could begin.

Love and justice were humorous words to the miners, dependent as they were with their wives and children on bosses who loved them with blackjacks, shotguns and savage jail terms. They were forced to be idle more than half the time, and when the bosses did have use for them it was to work them so hard that a man was not fitting for his own wife: he was like a walking statue in his own home. Their condition was pitiful, and the bosses put down by force and terror every organized attempt to better it. They had had a union, but a strike had been called back in 1927, and after several miners were killed it had ended in the union being smashed, their pay slashed from \$8 to \$3.50 a day. The average family of five was existing on less than \$10 a week. There was not much love went with the wages, and the miners were not aiming to love the bosses much in return.

But more miners than ever began coming to the Presbyterian pool-room, and over games with the preacher they sounded him out, to see if he really knew what he was talking about and how far he would go with it.

A hulking coal-digger said sharply and challengingly:

"You got plenty o' say-so, preacher. What we want to know is, have you got any do-so?"

"Listen, boys," Claude said. "I know what you're up against, and I'm with you teeth, toenail and cuticle. Try me.

"Get over the idea that there's something queer about a preacher talking this way. I'm a working man. When I talk of the Kingdom of God I'm really talking about good food and decent conditions for us all. The Nazarene fought for the good life for the people, and if I claim to speak his language, then I speak yours."

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Sceptics among the miners shook their heads.

"That's all very fine, preacher," they said. "But you won't ever get these conditions you speak of through any church. You can talk all you want about the power of love, but what good will it do against clubs and guns and lockouts?"

"I'm not talking about getting halitosis from kissing the boss. I want to be realistic just as much as you do. Look."

He got a piece of chalk and drew on the blackboard:

"There's your divine triangle," he said. "Faith, the base: not shutting the eyes and believing something you know ain't so—but faith based on observed facts—then refusal to be shaken from the conclusions of what you've observed. We believe we can do it: we do it.

"Then Hope—pointing up to a better condition. We can't do without hope. If we were convinced that our present condition were permanent, we would despair.

"And Love—connecting these other two. Not a sentiment that makes you want to embrace someone in emotional ecstasy—but that great driving power which, when you see a condition that needs correcting, makes you dare sacrifice yourself and co-operate with others to correct it.

"There are our weapons. If we workers don't get together and fight together—if we don't all become one, as the Nazarene said—then we're sunk. It's aggressive love I'm talking about. It's a greater power than guns, and it's the kind of power our union is going to have. What about it?"

The hulking coal-digger stroked his chin.

"Well, I'll be dawged," he said, and held out his hand to the preacher.

(To be continued)

LET MY PEOPLE GO was published this year by Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Your magazine has been branded "Anti-Catholic." The charge should not surprise you for such a smear was in the normal run of things, it being easier to call names than intelligently answer arguments.

Unfortunately, however, the problem goes deeper. A carefully planned position has been laid out for you which makes you an "enemy," not alone of clerical Fascists, whom you do and should oppose, but seemingly of the Catholic laity, for whom you have never, to my knowledge, displayed other than good will and friendship. When, therefore, you offer any criticism of church politics and politicians it is construed as an attack upon all Catholics and their religion. By this distortion, Catholics, who if they knew your actual position, would be inclined to agree with you are placed in the camp of your opponents and curse you as "Catholic baiters."

Because of this canny trick, the work you have undertaken has been made twice as difficult as it would ordinarily have been; and I feel that those of us who understand your true position should speak out on your behalf, and categorically deny that the *Protestant Digest* is, or has ever been, "Anti-Catholic." Unless opposition to clerical-Fascism can be termed "Anti-Catholic"—in which case, I fear, a great many Catholics would have to be tarred with the same brush that has been used on you.

R. J. O'Connor
New York, New York

* * * *

Out of his grim experience as war correspondent in Spain when Spain was fighting for the life of her Democracy, when the other "Democracies" of the world were busy appeasing the German-Italian invaders of Spain, Lawrence Fernsworth has brought us words of life for the DEMOCRACY OF AMERICA! Words distilled, it would seem, from the very blood of the Democracy of Spain, words that have the deep insight and the dynamic drive of COMMON SENSE, that great bible of Democracy from the mind and soul of the great Tom Paine, words that not only every last Catholic in America should read but every last AMERICAN as well! Not since the appearance of COMMON SENSE in those analogous days of our own Revolu-

tionary beginnings has anything like them been written in America! And they are true to the very last drop of blood shed for the DEMOCRACY OF SPAIN, from whence they seem to derive! "A BRAVE CATHOLIC SPEAKS TO HIS PEOPLE," on the back cover of your EASTER NUMBER, is the same heroic call to the work in hand that was COMMON SENSE, with the same deep current of understanding, the same uncompromising conscience, the same everlasting fire of freedom! And if it is a call to every last AMERICAN IN AMERICA, surely it must be even more a call to Fernsworth himself to give us the COMMON SENSE for this day and hour that Paine gave then! That you have printed these words of life, these words of fire, on the back cover of your *Protestant Digest* is a service of the first order and magnitude.

Horace Casselberry
New York, N. Y.

* * * *

Protestant Digest is very interesting to me. I am a Spanish Baptist minister, refugee from Spain, and maybe this is the reason I follow with a great interest your wonderful campaign about my unhappy country. I read in several magazines from different countries many articles on the same subject, but I am coming to believe that *Protestant Digest* is one of the best informed.

Reverend Zacarías P. Carles
Toronto, Canada

* * * *

Receiving the February-March *Protestant Digest* sample copy I am very pleased with your praise of Dr. Ward's and Dean Johnson's books, and with your excellent choice of quotation from the second book, but I do not agree with the apparent conclusion of your leading editorial—that one should support Churchill but critically. The U. S. A.'s support of Churchill has led to elevation of Tories, Beaverbrook and Halifax, etc., friends of Fascism, as you often state. The way to help England and democracy is to withhold aid until the Tories are thrown out. Russia, with a far better record of helping real democracy—Spain, Czechoslovakia and China—than we have, has done just this.

Dr. L. A. Eldridge, Jr.
Great Neck, N. Y.

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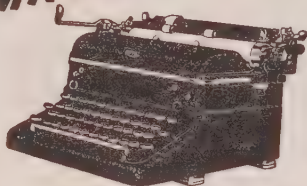
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